

## *The Frontispiece unfolded.*

**T**HIS Royall Emblem few or none behold,  
But wish that some would further it un-  
Though'tis a folly for the best rais'd wit (fold;  
To think such Sacred Majesty to sit,  
Yet may one labour to relate in part  
What's here engraven of His Princely Heart.  
*View well His Posture, teaches it not thee,*  
*Devotion, Patience, Magnanimitie ?*  
*That Blest, Eternall Crown of Heaven he ey's,*  
*Where's Glory endlesse, This his Faith implies.*  
*Christs Crown of Thorns he graspeth in his hand,*  
*Too sharp, he weigheth light, 'cause Christs comād.*  
*In whose Word is his hope: whilst th' world affords*  
*Crosses and Roses to bestrew our Beards.*  
*The Worlds Bright Massie Crown of Vanitie*  
*He Spurn's as nothing-worth to what's in's eye.*  
*What though prest down like to the Palm He be ?*  
*Under such Weights, the higher riseth He :*  
*Like a firm Rock, th' insulting Waves He quells,*  
*And fiercest Puffs of violent Winds repells :*  
*Nor can but such a Sun of glory shine, (vine.*  
*And break through darkest Clouds with rales di-*  
*Be much accounted of in Earth and Heaven,*  
*As a good Steward that hath made all even :*  
*Rule in our harts, lord God, as now doth raign*  
*CHARLES in full glory, never more to wain.*

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Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

THE  
PORTRAITURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAJESTIE  
IN  
HIS SOLITUDES  
AND  
SUFFERINGS.

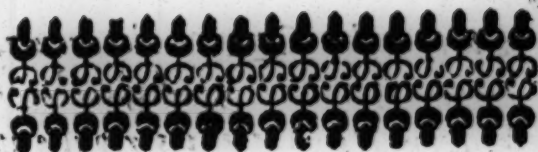
ROM. 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c.*

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium*

M. D C. X L I X.





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EIKON BAZILIKH.

1. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*



His last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of My affaires, then by My own choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, as best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments (which by forbearing to convene for some yeares, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publique grievances in Church and State; I hoped by My (freedome and their moderation) to prevent all mis-understandings, and mis-carriages in this: In which as I feared affaires would meet with some passion & prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should find least of them in My selfe; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-balancings of any factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to heare, with what partiality and popular heat, Elections were carried in many places ; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding some mens wel-meaning zeale by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdomes: ) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My self; who knowing best the largeness of My own Heart toward My Peoples good and just contentment, pleased My self most in that good and firme understanding, which would hence grow between Me and My people.

All Jealousies being laid aside, My own and my Childrens Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of My Subjects. The onely temporall blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen my selfe in some things of My wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gaine but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies also : exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The



The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remisnesse in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Lawes and Regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amisse in practice, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then My selfe, whom it most concerns, both in piety and policy, as knowing, that, No flames of civill dissentions are more dangerous, then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant what-ever My Reason and Conscience told me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My selfe within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgement to have been over-born in some things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed My selfe and My Kingdomes to those advantages which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to doe mischief.

But our sinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we lov'd him of in our Prosperity.

For thou ( O Lord ) hast made us see , that Resolutions of future Reforming doe not alwayes satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sinnes have over-laid our hopes : Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee , upon presumptions afterwards to please thee : Then I trust thy mercies will restore these blessings to us, which wee have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sinnes, Thou givest us cause to Repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I doe not Repent of My calling this last Parliament, because O Lord, I did it with an upright intention to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdomes, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us ; and may be yet ( through thy Mercy ) preparatives of us to future blessings and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My People the benefit of our afflictions , and thy chastisements ; that thy rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us : Then shall we dare to account them the stroakes, not of an Enemy, but a Father : when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience

in repentance which becomes thy Children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the sinnes we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with Our sinnes.

O thou soveraign goodnesse, and wisdom, who Over-rulest all our Counsels; over-rule also all our hearts; That the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our sinnes have turned our Antidotes into Poyson; so let thy Grace turne our Poysons into Antidotes.

As the sinnes of our Peace disposed us to this unhappie Warre, so let this VVarre prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdomes here, yet I may attaine to that Kingdome of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours sake, Amen.

## 2. Upon the Earle of Straffords death.

I Looked upon my Lord of Strafford, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him in the greatest affaires of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sunne) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *Odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgement approve w<sup>h</sup> he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his own disposition to any height & rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the businesse of that unfortunate Earle: when between My own unsatisfiednesse in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people. I was perswaded by those, that I thinke wished me well, to choose rather what was safe, then what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdomes with men before that inward exactnesse of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so farre from excusing or denying

denying that compliance on My part ( for plenary consent it was not ) to his destruction, whom in My Judgement I thought not, by any cleare Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret : which, as a signe of My repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed, both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that it discovered more a feare of Man, than of God, whose name and place on Earth no man is worthy to beare, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conscience, thereby to salve State fores ; to calme the stormes of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans own bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxime ; *Better one man perish ( though unjustly ) then the people be displeased, or destroyed.* For,

In all likelihood I could never have suffred, with My People, greater calamities, ( yet with greater comfort ) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at least by denying to Signe that destructive B I L L, according to that Justice, which My Conscience suggested to Me, then I have done since I gratified some mens un-

## EIKON BAZILIKH.

thankfull importunities with so cruell a fa-  
vour. And I have observed, that those, who  
counselled Me to signe that Bill, have been so  
farre from receiving the rewards of such in-  
gratiatings with the People, that no men have  
been harassed and crushed more than they :  
He onely hath been least vexed by them, who  
counselled Me, not to consent against the vote  
of My own Conscience ; I hope God hath  
forgiven Me and them, the sinfull rashnesse  
of that businesse.

To which being in My soule so fully consci-  
ous, those Judgements God hath pleased to  
send upon Me , are so much the more wel-  
come ; as a means ( I hope ) which his mercy  
hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me re-  
pent of that unjust Act ( for so it was to Me )  
and for the future to teach Me, That the best  
rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Ju-  
stice, before all enjoyments ; and the peace  
of My Conscience before the preservation of  
My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My re-  
solutions against all those violent importuni-  
ties, which since have sought to gaine alike  
consent from Me to Acts, wherein My Con-  
science is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I  
have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of  
*Strafford's* Businesse.

Not that I resolved to have employed him  
in My affaires, against the advice of My Par-  
liament,

liament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesnesse I was better assured, than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so cleare, as after a long and faire hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of Strafford's greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integrity in their Votes, were by Posting their Names, expoied to the popular calumny, hatred, and iury; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours for Justice, (that is, to have both My selfe and the two Houses Vote, and doe as they would have us) that many (tis thought) were rather terrifi'd to concur with the condemning party, then satisfied that of right they ought so to doe.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tels the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This tendernesse and regret I finde in my soile, for having had any hand (and that very

unwillingly God knows ) in shedding one mans blood unjustly, ( though under the colour and formalities of Justice, and pretences of avoyding publick mischiefs ) which may ( I hope ) be some evidence before God and Man, to all Posterity, that I am far from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappy War; which some men will needs charge on Me, to ease their own soules, who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, than to lose my own.

But thou, O God, of thy infinite mercies, forgive mee that act of sinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so farre, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sinne is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood guiltinesse, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evill in thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach



Teach me to learne righteousness by thy Judgements, and to see my frailty in thy Justice : while I was perswaded by shedding one mans blood, to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sinnes, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee : O never suffer me for any reason of State, to goe against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sinne against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit ; which subjects my will to none ; but thy light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in my Soule. for Thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord heare the voice of thy Sins, and my Saviours Blood, which speakes better things ; O make me, and my People, to heare the voice of Joy and Gladnesse, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy salvation.

3. *Upon His Majesties going to the  
House of Commons.*

**M**Y going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and feares; yea, and many of my friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchinesse of those times required:

But these men knew not the just Motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my selfe so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legall Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made to embroyle my Kingdomes: of ail which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own hands, who were the chiefe contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publique peace, which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knows was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to doe Me, and My Kingdome right, in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their Innocency, and removed My suspicions; which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this sparke (though I sought by all speedy and possible means to quench it) soone kindled, all the world is witnesse: The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is so false, that as God best knows, I had no such intent; so none that attended Me could justly gather from any thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended; especially in discontented times; so were my followers at that time short of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard

a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more scared at my coming, then I was un-assured of not having some affronts cast upon me, if I had none with me to preserve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to thinke those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Me, both by words and deeds.

The summe of that businesse was this

Those men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater Protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then My selfe, and so worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations; no present impunity, or popular vindications of them, will be subserfuge, sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeale, as being an argument to us Christians of that after un-avoidable judgement, which shall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions which I fore-saw, would in all likelihood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and sorrow hath done to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pitty.

But

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my designe: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance; and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witnesse in Heaven, and in my Heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were any such wickednesse in my thoughts.

Then let the enemy persecute my soule, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reines, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy selfe.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sinne, in that matter: more then their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of my heart, and the

the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintaine my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

#### 4. Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.

**I** Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs, which have followed, then those Tumults in London and Westminster, soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earth quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horroir.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea; so it is no little that he restraines the madnesse of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confidence and clamours of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honor and Freedome of the two Houses,

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Houſes, menacing, reproaching, ſhaking, yea, and aſſaulting ſome Members of both Houſes, as they fancied, or diſliked them: Nor did they forbear moſt rude and unſeemely deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My ſelfe and My Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an ague; but a quotidian feaver, alwayes encreasing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Fiſt, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſe feares, which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeede nothing was more to be feared, & leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of meane and rude people, who are taught fiſt to petition, then to protect, then to diſturb, at laſt to command and overawe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candor) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences, muſt be ſubdued by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmaticall propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civill, muſt be backed and abetted till they prevailed.

Generally

Generally who ever had most minde to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults: whose rior and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair productiō of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberatenesse befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Invokers and Incouragen most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated and connived at by some, countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired for the publique good, then obtain it by such unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens passions, and Gods directions seldome agree; violent designes and motions must have sutable engines, such as too much attend their owne ends, seldome confine themselves to Gods meanes. Force must crowd in what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chiefe Demagogues & Patrons of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous impertunities, some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance.

God



God in his due time will let these see that those were no fit meanes to be used for attaining his ends.

But as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage, when strong winds blow upon it, so neither for Multitudes to become insolent, when they have Men of some reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudenesse most formidable, was, that many Complaints being made, and Messages sent by My self and some of both Houses ; yet no order for redresse could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far spread disease, and predominant mischief.

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience ; Others petulancy, that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged, and abused, while they knew their only security consisted in vulgar flattery : So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known *Bontefeus*, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some ( who should have beene wiser Statesmen ) owned them as friends, commending

ding their Courage, Zeal, & Industry, which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devill, who *goes about seeking whom hee may deceive, and devoure.*

I confesse, when I found such a deafenesse, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully insolenced and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My selfe could take place for the due repression of these Tumults; and securing not only Our freedom in Parliament but Our very Persons in the streets; I thought My selfe not bound by My presence to provoke them to higher boldnesse & contempts: I hoped by my with-drawing to give time both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimity in any man, for popular terrours to desert his publique station. But I thinke it a hardinesse beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of the Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fury, & gains a fitter time to repaire the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for place and number in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplin'd rabble.

Some

Some suspected and affirmed, that I meditated a War, ( when I went from *White-hall* onely to redeem My Person and Conscience from violence : ) God knows, I did not then think of a Warre. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, & some after Acts, have so much weakened My selfe, If I had purposed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denyed My self in so many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not flye so high, as to worry and teare those in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws ? God, who is My sole Judge, is My Witnesse in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My House at *White-hall*, if I could have had but any reasonable faire Quarter ; I was resolved to beare much, and did so, but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majesty of My Place & Person, the safety of My Wife and Children, to those, who are prone to insult me, when they have objects and opportunity most capable of their rudenesse and petulancy.

But this businesse of the Tumults (whereof some have already given an account to God, others

others yet living know themselves desperately guilty ) Time and the guilt of many hath so smothered up, and hurried, that I thinke it best to leave it as it is; Only I believe the just Avenger of all disorders, will in time make those men, and that City, see their sinne in the glasse of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even lay that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members of both Houses being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all reason, honour, & Religion, they should have been, I doubt not but things would have beene so carried, as would have given no lesse content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to heare reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publique Councels, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to thinke, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in England ( as I might opportunely enough have done ) the sad consequences in all likelihood, with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have beene welcome

te- welcome in any place ; no place afforded  
ath- uch confluence of various and vicious hu-  
e it- ours , as that where it was unhappily con-  
ust- ened. But we must leave all to God , who  
ake- orders our disorders , and magnifies his wis-  
in- dome most, when our follies and miseries are  
nen- most discovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence,  
to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of  
the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in  
upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.

I looke upon My sins, and the sins of My peo-  
ple, (which are the tumults of our soules against  
thee O Lord ) as the just cause of these popular  
mundations which thou permittest to overbeare  
all the bankes of loyalty, modesty, Lawes, Just-  
ice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one  
place, and made'st the dry land to appeare, and  
after did'st assuage the flood which drowned  
the world, by the word of thy power ; Rebuke  
those brasts of the people, and deliver Me from  
the rudenesse and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee unto us, the freedoms  
of our Councils and Parliaments , make us un-  
passionately to see the light of Reason, and Reli-  
gion, and with all order and gravity to follow  
it, as it becomes Men and Christians ; so shall  
we praise thy name , who art the God of order  
and counsell.

What

*What man cannot, or will not repress, omnipotent Justice can and will.*

*O Lord, give them that are yet living, timely sense & sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.*

*Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Law, & to our schismes by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jerusalem, a Citie at peace in it selfe.*

*This grant, O My God, in thy good time. Jesus Christs sake. Amen.*

5. *Upon His Majesties passing*  
**BILL** *for the Triennial Parliaments: And after, setting the*  
*during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

**T**Hat the world might be fully convinced in My purposes at first, to contribute what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience I could, to the happy successe of Parliament, (which had in Me no other sign but the generall Good of My Kingdom) I willingly passed the **BILL** for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable

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Phyſick, might ( if well applied ) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head, or prevailing ; eſpecially, if the remedy proved not a remedy beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would ſinde work with convenient Reſeſſes for the firſt three years : But I did not imagine that ſome men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to doe , by undoing ſo much as they found well done to their hands. Such is ſome mens activity, that they will needs make work rather than want it ; and chooſe to be doing amiſſe, rather then doe nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatiſſie ſome mens fears , and compaſſie publick Affairs ; I was perſwaded to grant that BILL of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes ; which amounted, in ſome mens ſenſe, to as much as the perpetuating of this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence , I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the door upon all preſent jealousies, and future miſtakes : I confeſſe, I did not thereby intend to ſhut my Self out of doers , as ſome men have now requited Me.

True, It was an Act unparallell'd by any of My Predeceſſours ; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had , That My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by

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which

which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny My Self in so high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit, that my Condition should be worse by My bettering theirs : Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continuall Parliament(I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigour ; wherein My interest lies more then any mans, since by those Laws My Rights as a KING, would be preserved no lesse then My Subjects;which is all I desired. More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not.

Some ( as I have heard ) gave it out, that I soon repented me of that settling Act : and many would needs perswade Me, I had cause so to do : But I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honour. That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have and enjoy with them. I still counted my self undiminished by my largest Concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My people.

Of which I doe not yet despair, but the God will still blesse Me with increase of it

wha



when men shall have more leisure and lesse prejudice ; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those ( as I think ) not more Princely then friendly contributions, which I granted toward the perpetuating of their happinesse : who are now onely miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor doe I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the loyall and cleared affections of My People will strive to return such retributions of Honour and love to Me or My Posteritie, as may fully compensate both the Acts of my confidence, and my Sufferings for them ; which ( God knows ) have been neither few, nor small, nor short ; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to men, that being professedly my Subjects pretended singular piety, and religious strictnesse.

The injury of all Injuries is, That which some men will needs load Me withall ; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of my Own, and my Subjects Miseries ; while ( as they confidently, but ( God knows ) falsely divulge ) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility, to undoe what by my Royall Assent I had done. Sure, it had argued a very short sight of things, and extreme fatuity of minde

in Me, so far to binde my Own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a sword against them. God knows, though I had then a sense of Injuries; yet not such as to think them worth vindicating by a Warre: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure my Self by their not using favours with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turne them into wantonnesse; but I thought at length their own fears; whose black art first raised up those turbulent spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacitie to have taken just revenge in an hostile and warlike way, upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given my Enemies greater and more desired advantages against Me, then by so unprincely Inconstancy, to have ahaunted them with Armies, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows, I longed for nothing more then that my Selfe, and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many Condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sinne, as well

as of Hazard and Dishonour ; for Me to goe about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much ( as I thought ) to my Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability, if some men had not feared where no fear was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thank God, I know so well the sincerity and uprightnesse of my own Heart in passing that great BILL, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times ; That although I may seem lesse a Politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God, nor had I any reservations in my own soule when I passed it : not repenting after, till I saw that my letting some men goe up to the pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast me down headlong.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it selfe, together with me, could not but be dashed in pieces by such a precipitious fall as they intended : whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devill shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them ) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a soule, worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved me, and made me to see, That it is no strange thing for

for men, left to their own passions, either to doe much evill themselves, or abuse the over-much goodnesse of others, whereof an ungratefull surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflections upon it as a sin of my Will, though an error of too charitable a judgement: Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be evill, because mine were good.

To thee ( O my God ) doe I still appeale, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesse of their hearts.

Thou gavest Me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitter to suffer much for some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be most comfortable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aymed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay other feares, I have raised My own; and by settling them, have unsettled My selfe.

Thus have they requited Me evill for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord,

O Lord, be thou My Pilot in this darke and dangerous storme, which never admits My returne to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any other, with that safety and honour which I designed.

Tis easie for Thee to keep Me safe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preserve Me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so farre to prevaile upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuse my Acts of greatest Indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My selfe may be of misusing those many and great ones, which Thou, O Lord, hast conferred on Me.

I beseech thee, give me and them such Repentance as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happie, as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to reflect with a reforming displeasure upon My offences against Thee.

So, although for my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings, yet I may be happie to enjoy the comfort of thy Mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

6. *Upon His Majesties retirement  
from Westminster.*

**W**ith what unwillingnesse I withdrew from Westminster, let them judge, who, unprovided of rackling and victuall, are forced to Sea by a Storme; yet better doe so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee-shore.

I stayed at Whitehall, till I was driven away by shame, more then feare, to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either My selfe, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intollerable oppression my case alone, (though chiefly Mine:) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to My Judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kinde; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree.

agree with the will of God, with my just Rights, as a King, and the generall good of my People. I see that as many men, they are seldome of one minde; and I may oft see that the *major* part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all; if some mens Hydropick unsatiableneffe had not learned to thirst the more, by how much more they drank; whom no fountaine of Royall bounty was able to overcome: so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure, it ceases to be Counsell; when not Reason is used, as to men, to perswade; but force and terrour, as to bealts, to drive and compell men to assent to whatever tumultuary patrones shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pity or redemption, that is content to have the rationall soveraignty of his Soule, and liberty of his will and words so captivated.

Nor doe I thinke my Kingdoms so considerable, as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to me as a man, and a Christian, owning the dictates of none, but God to be above me, as obliging me to consent. Better for Me to die enjoying this

Empire of my Soule, which subjects me onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer me to use my Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath in a blinde and brutish formalitie, to consent to whatever its Subjects in Parliament shall require; as some men will needs infer; while denying me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive me of the liberty of using my Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publique; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, what ever my selfe, as King, or the House of Peers with Me should, not so much desire as enjoyn them to patie. I think my Oath fully discharged in that point, by my Governing onely by such Laws, as my People with the House of Peers have Chosen, and my Self have consented to. I shall never think my selfe conscientiously tied to goe as oft against my conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals, which my Reason, in Justice, Honor and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet



Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the onely man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by any other Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of error, opinion, activeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call Obstinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and method of Slavery, by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of his Errour and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reason: The uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole star, it can be no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as doe best appeare to him. It argues rather those men to be consci-

ous

ous of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weakness of their Counsels and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightnesse of my heart, protest before God & men, That I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me by the two Houses, further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to doe.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when my judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with a good Conscience consent to them: Yea, in many things, where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience in point of Honour was to be considered, I chose rather to deny my selfe, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for my peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for my Self.

For I can be content to recede much from my Own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive my selfe to be master: but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Right of the Church, and my Crown, together with the generall good of my Kingdoms: (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in Me;) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gaine My consent to that, wherein My heart gives

My

My tongue or hand the Lie ; nor will I bee brought to affirme that to men, which in My conscience I denyed before God. I will rather chuse to weare a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold ( which is due to Me ) for one of Lead, whose embased flexibleness shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions ; when in stead of Reason, and Publique concernements, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the particularities of private wils and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer his Conscience before his Kingdoms.

*O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall, and Religious freedom ; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain : who, though thou dost justly require us to submit our understandings & wils to thine, whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so far to deny our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries and Commands, that we should believe and obey, rather then dispute them ; yet dost thou expect from us, only such a reasonable service of thee, as not to doe any thing for thee, against our consciences : and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the touch stone of Reason and*

and Lawes, which are the rules of Civill Justice; and to declare our consents to that only which our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set mee, and whereto the affaires of My Kingdomes at present did call me.

My People can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to deny My selfe in what thou hast subjected to My disposall.

O let not the unthankful importunities, and tumultuary violence of some mens immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerate & unmanly slavery, which should make Me strengthen them by My consent in those things which I thinke in My conscience to be against thy glory, the good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My own duty to Reason and Justice.

Make mee willing to suffer the greatest indignities and injuries they presse upon Me, rather then commit the least sin against My Conscience.

Let the just liberties of My people be (as well they may) preserved in faire and equall wayes, without the slavery of my soule.

Thou that hast intreated me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer me not to subject my Reason to other mens passions, and designs, which to me seem unreasonable, unjust, & irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightnesse of my heart, though I cannot satisfy these men.

Though

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walke always uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Justice, for these, I know, will bring me at last to peace and happinesse with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours sake.

## 7. Upon the Queenes departure and absence out of England.

ALTHOUGH I have much cause to be troubled at My Wives departure from mee, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her absence, so much, as the scandall of that necessity which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That She should be compelled by My owne Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for Her safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the same Tragedy which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession) may occasion a further alienation

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enation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not suffer these practices to be any obstruction to Her judgement, since it is the motion of those men (for the most part) who are yet to seeke and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true *English Protestants*, who continue firm to their former settled Principles and Lawes.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady, should be any occasion of Her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage Indians: while their rudenesse and barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate all Vertues, as some mens subtilty doth: among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her selfe. The fault is, that shee is My Wife.

All justice then, as well as affection commands me, to study her Security, who is only in danger for my sake, I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and ship wrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbor.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the midst of My Personall dangers, that I can perish but half, if she be preserved: In whose

memory.



memory and hopefull Posterity, I may yet survive the malice of my enemies, although they should be satiated with my blood.

I must leave her and them, to the Love and Loyalty of my good Subjects, and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no lesse able to revenge the injuries done to them, by those who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safety, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vaine expected from those that dispute their Loyalty: Nor can it be safe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pittie so noble and pcesefull a soule should see, much more suffer the rudenesse of those who must make up their want of Justice with inhumanity and impudence.

Her sympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her vertue shine with greater lustre as stars in the darkest nights; and assure the envious world, that she loves Me, not my fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since We do not much blame the unkindnesse of the generality and Vulgar: for we see God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most self-punishing sinne, the Ingratitude of those,

those, who having eaten of Our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have scornfully lift up themselves against Us; and those of Our owne Household are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their sinne to their charge: who think to satisfie all obligations to duty, by their Coban of Religion: and can lesse endure to see, then to sinne against their benefactors as well as their Soveraigns.

But even that policy of My enemies is so far venial, as it was necessary to their designs by scandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seeke to drive her out of my Kingdomes; lest by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and loyalty as a Subject she should have converted to, or retained in their love and loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The less I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God and my owne Heart, whence no malice can banish Her, my enemies may envy, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her virtues while I enjoy my self.

*Thou, O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercie in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last to thy heavenly Kingdom.*

*Preserve us from the hands of our despight*

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and full and deadly enemies, and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, ( which is my greatest temporall infelicity ) yet Lord give and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let to our hearts agree in the love of thy selfe, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our souls eternall good, and make us carefull to doe what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be knowne, nor unbeliefe, or disobedience to what we know, be our miserie, or our wilful default.

Let not this great scandall of those my Subjects, which profess the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardning of her in any error thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let Mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the poyson of their examples.

Let the truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her Judgement, with all the beauties of humility, loyalty, charity, & peaceablenesse, which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Hereſie, Novelty, Cruelty & disloyalty,

loyalty, which some mens practices have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine; that she may believe, love; & obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy True Shew may see thee in those Mercies which thou hast offered to us in thy Son Jesus Christ, our on'y Saviour, & serve thee in all those holy Duties which most agree with his holy Doctrine, and most imitate his example.

Toe experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory and Greatness in our scatterings and eclipses, let it make us bold so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable Honours and perfections which are only to be found in thy selfe, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8. *Upon His Majesties repulse  
at Hull, and the fates of the Ho-  
thame.*

**M**Y repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that my greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett or owne it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could beare the losse of my Kingdomes.

God knowes, it affected mee more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for my self; nor did the affront done to me trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more, with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly containe themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to comit or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soone after to over-spread the whole Kingdome, and cast all into disorder & darknesse.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers: That bad actions must alwayes be seconded with worse, and rather not begun, then not carryed on, for they thinke the retreat more dangerous then

then the assault, and hate repentance more  
then perseverance in a fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the  
pious disguises, and soft palliations of some  
men; whose words were sometimes smoothed  
then oile, but now I saw they would prove  
very swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence  
but that of a good Conscience, thought  
my best policie (with patience) to bear what  
I could not remedy: And in this (I thank  
God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that  
disdaine, or emotion of passion transported  
me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do  
or say any thing unbeseeming my selfe,  
unsuitable to that temper, which, in great  
est injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian  
as coming nearest to the great example  
Christ.

And indeed, I desire always more to re-  
member I am a Christian, then a King; for  
what the *Majesty* of one might justly abhor,  
the Charity of the other is willing to beare  
what the height of a King tempreth to re-  
venge, the humility of a Christian teacheth  
to forgive, keeping in compasse all those im-  
potent passions, whose excesse injures a man  
more then his greatest enemies can; for they  
give their malice a full impression on our  
soules, which otherwise cannot reach very  
far, nor doe us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded & avenged my cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and feares to owne it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

First, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncursed by any language or secret imprecation of mine, onely blasted with the conscience of his own wickednesse, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after paies his own and his eldest Sonnes heads, as forfeiture of their disloyalty to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange, that they who employed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not finde mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much premerited of them: For, Apostacy unto Loyalty some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weale. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country: Roote and branch

branch God cuts off in one day.

These Observations are obvious to every fancy : God knows, I was so farre from rejoicing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it was such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first employed him against mee) that I so far pitied him, as I thought hee first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then ( I hope ) many other men do in the same Cause.

For, hee was never thought to be of the superstitious sowreness, which some men pretend to in matters of Religion, which so darkens their judgment, that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those men they use, with intents to reform to their models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of zeale and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was ( I think ) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes mee more pity him, that after he began to have some inclination towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to me, he should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice and not my mercy, who could as willingly



have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of me.

For I thinke clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe, they would not after abuse it, since God himselfe suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy, but only prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so bad & unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign, carries always its owne vengeance, as an unseparable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatal, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Employers in the service.

After times will dispute it, whether *Hobham* were more infamous at *Hu'*, or at *Tower hill*; though 'tis certain that no punishment sustains a mans Honour, as wilful perpetrations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it; for as his death hath satisfied

the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more then the sinne against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischiefe to return on his owne head, and his violent dealing to come downe on his owne pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the s<sup>n</sup>s of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands, that men may know it was thy worke, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I doe not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish.

O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects, and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live & amend who have most offended me in so high a nature, that I may have those to forgive, who beare most proportion to their offences to those trespasses against thy majestie, which I hope thy mercie hath forgiven mee.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the Lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath beene so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sinne, who know not they have done amisse, and scare them from their sinne, that sin of malicious wickednesse.

Tha

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And doe thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercie, and truth meeting together; let my Crowne ever flourish in righteousness, and peace, kissing each other.

Heare my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offeriures of thy love, even when wee were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to dye for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

9. *Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the King.*

**I** Finde that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Me to leave White-hall: what Tumults could not doe, an Army must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recesso hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may, as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give Mee such a

measure of Constancy, as to feare him more then man: and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before any outward tranquillity.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince Me? O my Soule, be of good courage, they confesse their knowne weaknesse, as to truth, and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING, but by My sufferings?

It is a hard & disputable choice for a King that loves his people, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civill war in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reape after 17. years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government; which might escape, rather through ill counsell of some men, driving on their private ends, or the peevishnesse of others envying the Publique, should be managed without them, or the hidden and insupe

insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of My selfe either to injuriousnesse or oppression.

Whose innocent blood, during My Reign, have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger, or covetousnesse? what Widows or Orphans teares can witness against Me, the just cry of which must now be avenged with My owne blood? For the hazards of War are equall; nor doth the Cannon know any respect of persons.

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against Me with swords.

God knows how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alleadged for this War against Me; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soone end so unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) seemes rather the productions of a surfeit of peace and wantonnesse of minds, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easily finde, or make causes of quarrell) then any reall obstructions of publique Justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid; and answer before God in My owne Conscience, however some men are not willing to believe Me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allay the insolency of the Tumults

mults (the not suppressing of which, no account in reason can be given (where an orderly Guard was granted) but only to oppress both Mine and the two Houses freedom of declaring & voting according to every man's Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seeme so to another.

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament.

That some men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall (warned by my Lord of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatened to be their Oppressors, and Judges of their Judges, was from that instinct which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appeare, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble that their lawfull Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety; it cannot seeme strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to publique odium was enough to ruine them before their Cause could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults over-borne the Freedom and Honour of the two Houses, but they asserted their Justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members qu

etly to come and declare their Consciences : I know no man so deer to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise, either to withdraw himselfe, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law, I think every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height for want of timely repressing the vulgar insoleracies, that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents, was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-awed with the Tumults, and their Patronage, or compelled to abet, by their suffrages or presence, the designs of those men who agitated innovations and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and cautiousness ; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorinesse against the Priviledges and Orders of the Houses ; to whom I wished nothing more then Safety, Fulnesse, and Freedom.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in faire and Parliamentary wayes, by free Deliberations and Votes, to gaine the concurrence of the *major* part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activity of factious Tumults) to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops injoying their ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for them by far the *major* part of Lords? Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuary instigations ebtuded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner was the Bill against Root and Branch brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and Schismaticall Terrours, which could never passe, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which partiality, while ( in all Reason, Justice and Religion ) my Conscience forbids me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard my Own, and my Kingdoms ruine by my Defence; or prostrate my Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men whose zealous Superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, then utterly to destroy that primitive, Apostolick, and anciently universall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which, if other mens judgements binde them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it, Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in my judgement,



ment, have also a most strict and indispenfable Oath upon my Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church : to which most sacrilegious and abhorred perjury, most unbecoming a Christian King, should I ever by giving my Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath or can befall me; in as much, as the least sin hath more evill in it then the greatest Affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-Episcopall Faction at first in this point with my Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government and Revenues to the fury of their covetousness, ambition, and revenge, I beleeve they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honour for my sake, and the Commonwealth, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot adde my consent for the totall extirpation of that Government ( which I have often offered to all fit regulations ) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I thinke Religious and Apostol:call, and so very sacred

and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, on destruction, when what is onely of civill Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men at that Order, may with their consent who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequences as was worth speaking of a Warre, being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in my own and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made, which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or other withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envie and injuries of first assaulcing them) that (God knows) I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumult been honourably and effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the Liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honour and Freedom, becoming such a Senate, have come and discharged

charged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly and speedily returned, then I retired; this being My necessity driving, the other my choice desiring.

But some men knew, I was like to bring the same Judgement and Constancy which I carried with Me, which would never fit their designs; and so while they invited Me to come, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially, when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave my Self, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities; which yet in all Reason and Honour they were as loth to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and designe in raising an Army against Me, is by the sequell so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appease them; there was nothing of consequence

quence offered to Me, or demanded of Me; any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopall, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded, were either impertinent, as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number, or else they were meetly consequentia, and accessary, after the War was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, when the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearness of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Army, with this designe, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in this truth, as to My conscience, ( who was ( God knows ) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one ) I finde that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on My side, I do not thinke My Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkened; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to address My prayer to Him,

For thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O my God. the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soule, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider My enemies, O Lord. for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For thou knowest, I had no passion, designe, or preparation to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gaine least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse, how oft I have deplored and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own life, which I have been oft compelled to doe in this unhappy War; and which were better spent to save then to destroy my people.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to beare the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would almost make me suspect my own

own innocency : Yea, I could be content ( at least by my silence ) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of mine enemies, and redeem my people from this miserable War ; since thou, O Lord, knowest my innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloody and deceitfull men ; many of whom have not lived out halfe their dayes, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy selfe, because of the rage of mine enemies, which encreaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischiefes, travailed with iniquitie, and brought forth falsehood.

Thou knowest the chiefe design of this War is, either to destroy my person, or force my judgement, and to make me revenge my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids choice and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them ( though their mercies be cruell ) then into thy hands by sinning against my Conscience, and in that against Thee, who art a consuming fire ; Better they destroy me, then thou shouldst damage Me.

Be thou ever the defence of my soule ; who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will satisfie mine Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdomes, or thy temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the blood of me, though a sinner, be washed with the blood of my Innocent and peace-making Redeemer; for in that thy Justice will finde not onely a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary satisfaction; both for my sins, and the sins of my People, whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my death, O remember thy great mercies towards them, and forgive them, O my Father, for they know not what to doe.

# 10. Upon the seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.

**H**OW untruly I am Charged with the raising of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre, the eyes that onely pittie Me, and the Loyall hearts that durst onely pray for Me, at first might witnesse, which yet appeare not so many on my side, as there were men in Armes listed against Me; my unpreparednesse for a Warre may well dishearten those that would help me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingnesse to fight; yea it testifies for Me, that I am set on the defensive

part;

part ; having so little hopes or power to defend others , that I have none to defend My selfe, or to preserve what is mine own from their proreption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before hand in their preparations against Me , and surprisals of my Strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me ; so over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I beleieve my innocency and unpreparednesse to assert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guilty in their esteems ; who would not so easily have declared a War against me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew, my chiefeſt Armies left Me, were those only which the ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Tears. These may serve a good mans turn, if not to conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, and surprising my Castles, Forts, Arms and Navy, with the Militia, is so far best for me , That it may drive me from putting any trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast my selfe into the protection of the living God, who can save by few or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Eaters* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make  
thei



their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the speciall support of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want of the Militia so much in reference to my own protection, as my Peoples.

Their many and sore oppreSSIONS grieve me, I am above my own : what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of Making Me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly Power: Thus I shall become a Support to my Friends, and a terrour to my Enemies, by being unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed and proposed to me the new modelling of Sovereignty and Kingship, as without any reality of power, so without any necessity of subjection and obedience : That the Majesty of the Kings of England might hereafter hang like *Mahomet's* Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an airy imagination of Regality.

But I beleieve the surfeit of too much power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it ; Sovereign Power.

Power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the stomachs of fellow-Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constitution Militia, fought, by satisfying their fears and importunities, both to secure my Friends, and overcome mine enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving my selfe of a sole power to help, or hurt any: yeelding the Militia (which is my undoubted Right no lesse then the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to bury all jealousies from them of me, and to live above all jealousies from them, as to my self; I desire not to be safe then I wish them and my People: If I had the sole actuall disposing of the Militia, could not protect my People, further then they protected Me and Themselves: so that the use of the Militia is mutuall. I would be able to defend my self so far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own enormities and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught my Subjects; since power hath been wrested from Me, and imployed against Me and Them, that neither can be safe, if both be not in for a way as the Law hath intrusted the publick safety and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of mine, as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men; which seem to be Enemies not to me only, but to all Monarchy; and are resolved to transmit to posterity such Jealousies of the Crowne, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessary Rights in point of power; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to My Successors, forbid Me to yeeld to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty, no lesse then Justice & Honour should have forbid them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclipse My owne beams, to satisfie their fears; who thinke they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly power wherewith God and the Laws have invested Me: Yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereignty to all posterity, and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust Usurpations and Extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine; which indeede, would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever sub-  
jected

jected to those many factious distractions  
 which must needs follow the many-headed  
*Hydra* of Government : which , as it makes  
 shew to the people to have more eyes to fore-  
 see ; so they will finde , it hath more mouth  
 too, which must be satisfied : and (at best)  
 hath rather a monstrosity , then any thing  
 perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy  
 where Counsell may be in many , as the se-  
 ses; but the supream Power can be but in one  
 as the Head.

Haply, when men have tryed the horron  
 and malignant influence which will certainly  
 follow My inforced darkness and eclipse (or  
 caused by the interposition and shadowe  
 that Body, which (as the Moon) receiveth  
 chiefest light from mee ) they will at length  
 more esteem and welcome the restored glorie  
 and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seeme by my re-  
 ding so much from the use of my Right in the  
 power of the *Militia* , to come short of the  
 discharge of that Trust to which I am sworn  
 for my peoples protection ; I conceive that  
 men are guilty of the inforced perjury ( if  
 it may seem ) who compe'll mee to take this  
 new and strange way of discharging my trust  
 by seeming to desert it ; of protecting  
 Subjects by exposing my selfe to danger  
 dishonour, for their safety and quiet.

Which, in the conflicts of Civill War, any, c  
 advantage

advantages of power, cannot be effected but  
 by some side yeilding ; to which the greatest  
 love of the publique peace, and the firmest  
 assurance of Gods protection ( arising from a  
 good Conscience) doth more invite me, then  
 can be expected from other mens fears; which  
 arising from the injustice of their actions  
 though never so succesfull) yet dare not ad-  
 venture their Authors upon any other way of  
 safety then that of the *Sword* and *Militia* ;  
 which yet are but weake defences against the  
 rooks of divine Vengeance, which will over-  
 take ; or of mens own consciences, which al-  
 ways attend injurious perpetrations.

For my self, I do not think that I can want  
 any thing which providentiall necessity is  
 pleased to take from me, in order to my pe-  
 rmanently tranquility and Gods glory, whose pro-  
 tection is sufficient for me ; and he is able by  
 his being with me, abundantly to compensate  
 to me, as he did to *Job*, what ever Honour,  
 Power, or liberty the *Chaldeans*, the *Sabbeans*,  
 or the Devill himselfe can deprive me of.

Although they take from mee all defence  
 by (if of Arms and *Militia*, all refuge by Land of  
 Forts & Castles, all flight by Sea in my Ships  
 and Navy ; yea, though they study to rob me  
 of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest  
 Treasure and best Ammunition of a King, yet  
 cannot they deprive me of my own innocen-  
 cy, or Gods mercy, nor obstruct my way to  
 advancement.

The

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for helpe, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me then can be against me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee : In the losse of all be thou more then all to me : Make hast to succour mee, thou that never failest them, that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for mee : But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no helpe, nor shall I, if I may have thine ; if not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me, whose Iudgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to bee nothing, that thou mayest be all.

Thou hast taught me, that no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host ; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help mee, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on my side, & I shall not fear what man can doe unto me

I will give thy Justice the glory of my distresse.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that persecute my soule !

By my sins have I fought against thee, and robbed

and thee of thy glory who am thy subiect, and justly  
wilt thou, by my own Subiects, strip mee of my  
strength, and eclipse my glory.

But shew thy selfe, O my hope and only refuge!  
Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for him  
in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps  
slip not.

Keepe me as the apple of thine eye, hide me un-  
der the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kinnesse, O thou  
that savest by thy right hand them that put their  
trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse mee, from my  
deadly enemies that compasse me about.

Shew mee the path of life. In thy presence is  
fullnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures  
for evermore.

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11. Upon the 19. Propositions first sent  
to the King, and more afterwards.

**A**Lthough there be many things they de-  
mand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see  
at what price they set my own safety, and my  
peoples peace; which I cannot thinke I buy  
at too dear a rate, save only the parting with  
my Conscience and Honour. If nothing else  
will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as mis-  
erable

nable and inglorious, as my enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to me have been offered by me ; Others are easily granted ; The rest ( I thinke ) ought not to be obtruded upon me with the point of the Sword, nor urged with the injuries of War ; when I have already declared that I cannot yeild to them without violating my Conscience : 'tis strange there can be no method of peace, but by making War upon my soule.

Here are many things required of me, but I see nothing offered to me by the way of grateful exchange of Honour, or any requital for those favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot aske more than I can give, may I but reserve to My self the incommunicable Jewel of My Conscience ; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repair or requite.

Some things ( which they are pleased to propound ) seem unreasonable to Mee, and while I have any mastery of My Reason, how can they think I can consent to them ? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeilding so much ( as I have already ) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

Th



The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me ; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King; as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be ( by Gods grace ) dearer to Mee then My Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seeme not to dare to deny any thing ; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to binde my self to a generall and implicite consent , to what ever they shall desire , or propound, ( for such is one of their Propositions ) were such a latitude of blinde obedience , as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King, by His own Subjects, any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as He doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented, not only to bind his owne hands, and cut off his hair , but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistines* might with the more safety mocke , and abuse him ; which they chose rather to doe , then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object , and

fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, seemes an arrogancy, least of all becomming those who pretend to make their addressees in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confesse their owne inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will & reason of their Superiour think fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reason, to Consent, or dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to aske, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to mee, in Reason, as a Man, and in Honour as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extreame injury to confine my Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which last God and the Lawes have sufficiently distinguisht, making mee their Sovereigne, and them my Subjects; whose Propositions may soone prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seekes to limit and confine his King in Reason, who hath not a secret aime to share with Him, or usurpe upon Him in Power and Dominion.

But

But they would have me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of mee to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my owne sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsell of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my self, as brutishly to submit to any mers dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereignty of Reason in my Soul, and the *Majesty* of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit, or doe refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young Statesmen (the most part of) these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed me, how well they can govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason & Government, wholly out of my own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehues*; and whose forwardnesse to ascend the throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Councillors, not my Dictators: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent me, I expected either some good Lawes, which had beene antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had beene desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution, or some evill customes preterlegall, and abuses personall had beene to be removed, or some injuries done by my selfe and others to the Commonweale, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendered to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crowne being considered by them, might fairly induce Mee to condescend, to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My selfe, whom nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, binde Mee (in the first place) to preserve: without which, 'tis impossible to preserve My people according to My place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amisse in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard

to the Lawes in force, the wisdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universall practise of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reforme its abuses and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeale and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-joynted, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be un-obstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Shismes in the Church, and so, punishable by the Lawes, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and assistance

(chiefly) to demand not only Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also abolition of the Laws against them, and a totall Exirpation of that Government, whose rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the maine; other Propositions are ( for the most part ) but as wast paper in which those are wrapped up to present them some-what more handsomely.

Nor doe I so much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements, free, single, and a part, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in farre the Major part of both Houses, (If free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Mis-government, the Primitive patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Co-  
pits. Sure

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason ( as yet produced to the contrary ) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (believing that all is good, which is gilded with shews of Zeale and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chiefe rise and abetment from those popular clamours and Tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My Judgement, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not goe alone, but ever be backt and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevaile against My Person, yet the first shall never overcome Me, further than I see cause; for, I look not at their number and power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of those Men, who hunt after Faction, and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgement tell Me, that the Propositions sent to Me were the Results of the Major parts of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect My own Judgement, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wise men among them: and humility to think, that as in some things I may want; so 'tis fit I should use their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a compleatnesse and inerrability, as to exclude My selfe; since none of them hath that part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to preserve as My selfe; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wisdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of some Propositions (is not more evident to Me than this is,  
That



That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them favour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in My two last famous Predecessours dayes, heaved at, and sometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments: ) But, I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole masse of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely so suddenly to taint the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practise, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; some thirsting after nothing more, than a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Mee, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reason bids Me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few who armed themselves with the many headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No lesse doth Reason, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command Me, to chew such morsels, before I let them downe;

If the straitnesse of my Conscience will not give me leave to swallow downe such Camel, as others doe of Sacriledge, and injustice both to God and Man, they have no more cause to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs, Yet by Gods help I am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any by upon my judgement to make me gratifie my will by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for feare or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease, and oppress the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me, that free, and faithfull counsell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Me from craving of the counsell of that mighty Counsellour, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart steadfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternall Reason, whose wisdom<sup>e</sup> is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy Servant, first with cleare discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in My Understanding, then so confirme My will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, or oppressions of my Enemies may ever inforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse then a Man; and not dare to say, *Tea* or *Nay*, as I see cause; which freedome is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice, they deny that freedome to Me their KING? which thou hast given to all Men; and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their Priviledges.

To thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens Proposals; which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My graming or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way plaine before Me.

Let not My own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not feare whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits; make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honour, my Kingdomes generall good, and my own soules salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of Me.

The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any feare, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly cheritable, as to follow their advice, when it appears to be for the publique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errors, as blast fraudulent counsels.

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Since we must give an account of every evill and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord, make me carefull of those soleimne declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique, either for weale, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they aske, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer Me to avoyde the one, or purchase the other, with the least expence or waste of my Conscience; whereof thou O Lord, onely art deservedly more Master than my Self.

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## 12. Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in Ireland.

THE Commotions in Ireland were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that Sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall finde the malicious Authour or instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against Me, that when they had

had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being so full of sinne against God, disloyalty to my selfe, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be beleevd when they affirmed, That what the Irish Rebels did, was done with my privity (at least) if not by my Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no newes for some of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commission, but against my Command, and Person too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those, whose blame must needs be the greater, by how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. Nor will the goodnesse of mens intentions excuse the scandall, and contagion of their examples.

But who ever faile of their Duty toward me, I must beare the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwayes done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent tryals, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquisite malice they have  
mixed

mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of loss and dishonour by what is committed; whereby ( in all Policy, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter derestation ) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whose common welfare my interest lies as much as some mens doth in their perturbations: Who think they cannot doe well but in evill times, nor so cunningly, as in laying the odium of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparkes of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed sewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people

ple prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, and the naturall desires of libertie; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeale, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

[God knows, as I can with Truth wash my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in my Tears, as the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so farre, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions, and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designs they were driving, then to the reliefe of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose teares and bloud might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civill dissentions, and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I wou'd to God no man had been lesse affected with *Ireland*s sad estate then my self; I offered to goe my selfe in Person upon that expedition; But some men were either afraid I shou'd have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to shoot at any mark here-les

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then my selfe ; or that any should have the glory of my destruction but themselves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been so great, nor the calamity so long, nor the remedy so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be : who either hindred the speedy suppressing of it by Domesticke dissentions, or diverted the Aides, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatening all extremities, not onely to the known heads, and chiefe incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation ; Resolving to destroy Root and Branch, men, women and children ; without any regard to those usuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to heare from their own breasts, in behalfe of those, whose oppressive fraud, rather then their malice, engaged them ; or whose imbecilltie for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left : Which preposterous, and ( I think ) un-evangelicall zeale is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few, or like that of Jacobs sons, which the Father both blamed

med and cursed : chusing rather to use all extremities, which might drive men to desperate obstinacy, then to apply moderate remedies, such as might punish some with exemplary Justice, yet disarm others, with tender mercy upon their submission, & our protection of them from the fury of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kinde of Zeale counts all merciful moderation, luke warmness; and had rather be cruell then counted cold, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harme he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficiall, then the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* ( who were daily massacred, and over-borne with numbers of now desperate Enemies ) was diverted and obstructed here ; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chiefe of the Protestant party there, to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they saw no probability (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped : God knowes with how much commiseration and sollicitous caution I carried on that business by persons of Honour and Integrity, that I might neither encourage the Rebels insolence,

nor discourage the Protestants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, but the necessity & difficulty of affairs would then permit. I was then to suffer again in my Reputation and Honour, because I suffered with the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against mee) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety; If during the time of that cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Ireland's* sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those that had better skill to let blood than to stanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is false, and evil, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeale to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try my patience, as he did his servant *Jobs*.

I have enough to doe to looke to my owne Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust as a King; I have scarce leisure to consider

sider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouths and hearts, as easily as smoak, or sparks doe out of a furnace; much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their own depth of wickednesse, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to doe well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to hear the other.

I thank God I can heare with patience, as bad as my worst enemies can falsely say. And hope I shall still doe better than they deserve, or desire I should.

I believe it will at last appeare, that they who first began to embroyle my other Kingdomes are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not-timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in Ireland.

Which (what-ever my enemies please to say, or think) I looke upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhausted out of my own veins; no man being so much weakned by it as my selfe; And I hope, though mens untimely cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length say to his Justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civil War to sheath it self: his mercifull justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure:

sure: the abatement of our sins, not the de-  
 solating of these Nation.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us  
 next againe, which I and My Kingdomes have  
 formerly abused; and can never deserve, should be  
 restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is  
 acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could  
 be Christians, unlesse wee crucifie one ano-  
 ther.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and  
 practised in charity, thou hast suffered a spirit of  
 rancour and bitterness, of mutuall and mortall ha-  
 tred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and  
 justify what we have suffered.

Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great  
 sin have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries I & my Kingdoms have hi-  
 therto suffered seeme small to thee: but make our  
 sin appear to our consciences, as they are represen-  
 ted in the glasse of thy judgements; for thou never  
 punishest small failings, with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy  
 mercies, pardon our sins, & remove thy judg-  
 ments, which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us, than  
 thy judgments; and make us more willing to repent,  
 than to be relieved; first give us the peace of peni-  
 tent consciences, and then the tranquility of united  
 Kingdoms.

In

In the sea of our Saviours blood drown our sinnes,  
and through this red sea of our owne blood bring us  
at last to a state of Piety, Peace and Plenty.

As my publike relations to all, make me so much  
in all my Subjects sufferings; so give me such a  
own sense of them as becomes a Christian King,  
a loving Father of my People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast  
on Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion  
on; Give me grace to heap charitable coales of  
upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or  
ell zeale hath kindled, or hindered the quenching  
those flames, which hath so much wasted my  
Kingdoms.

O rescue & assist those poor Protestants in  
land, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And lead those in the ways of thy saving Truth  
whose Ignorance or Errours have filled them with  
rebellious and destructive Principles, which they  
all under an opinion, That they doe thee good  
vice.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those,  
maliciously and despightfully have raised or fomented  
these cruell and desperate Wars.

Thou that art farre from destroying the innocent  
with the guilty, and the erroneous with the malicious;  
thou that hadst pitty on Niniveh for the multitude  
my children that were therein, give not over  
whole stocke of that populous and seduced Nation  
the wrath of those, whose covetousness makes them  
cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce,  
therefore justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the  
 of thy severe justice, a Posterity which may  
 rise thee for thy mercy.

And deal with me, not according to mans unjust  
 matches, but according to the innocency of my  
 in thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the wofull day  
 of my Kingdomes calamities, If I have not earnest-  
 ly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preven-  
 tion and composing of these bloody Distractions;  
 let thy Hand be against Me and My Fathers  
 or mine. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough  
 enough; as I need not, so should not dare thus to  
 thy curse on me and mine, if my Consci-  
 ence did not witnesse my integrity, which thou, O  
 Lord, knowest right well. But I trust not to my own  
 merit, but thy mercies; spare us, O Lord, and be  
 true to us for ever.

Upon the calling in of the Scots,  
 and their coming.

The Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have  
 not only common ties of Nature, Sove-  
 reignty, and Bounty, with my Father of  
 the blessed memory; but also speciall and late  
 obligations of favours, having gratified the  
 Spirits among them so farre, that I  
 to many, to preferre the desires of  
 that

that party, before My owne Interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty embolden some men to aske, and act beyond all bound of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages ; wherein shall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent what I granted them for the publique good. I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that party into England, with an Army, onely to conformance the Church to their late new Modell, cannot but seeme as unreasonable ; as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means before the divine Justice, I leave to their consciences to judge, who have already felt the misery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosnesse of graine being objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they cry up, as the onely just reforme



tion, and setting of Government and Discipline in Churches, to goe on so smoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when so many of the *English* Clergy, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeale, or pious Discretiō, for any forreign State, or Church, to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselves have used, rather successfully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler Applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew our religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by faire and equall disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equall one: For, it was concluded there,

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that

that the *English* Clergy must conforme to the *Scots* patterne, before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Surely in matters of Religion, those truths gain most on mens judgements and consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices, and is unreasonable to be used, til such means of rationall conviction hath been applyed, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church men of *England*; who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy cannot so soone renounce both their former opinion and practice, only because that party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like party here; either to drive all Ministers and Sheepe into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be

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the only institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churehes Governments; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of My Subjects commission by the Sword to set it up in any of My Kingdoms without My consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles paid to the chiefe Governours of States, where they lived, is very clear in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour, I thinke is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others, and is the first and only point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusions runs in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their owne blood, not violent drawing of other mens; sure there is too much of man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

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nings ; but only this, to represent to mee the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a Warre ; which some men chiefly on this design at first had begun , and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern , set up their wayes by the like methods of violence ? all which Presbytery seeks to suppress , and render odious under those names ; when wise and learned men think , that nothing hath more markes of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient , and still most Universall way of the Church government, and specially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed , nor are like to be for me, till I see more Rationall & Religious motives , then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapfacks.

But wee must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many wayes ( having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion ) to teach us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory & his Churches good : which I think My self so much the more bound in conscience to attend,

tend, with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteeme the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above mine Own; and the salvation of mens soules above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I thinke, without sinne and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designes, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved, both my own and other mens Conscience by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or settle my Religion; nor any mans else, who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those that have some temptations of gaine, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the Scots Armies coming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so many Obligations of duty,

duty, and gratitude to Me : then I wondered, how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance, who so much pretended Gods Cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation ; considering they were more then competently furnished with My Subjects Arms and Ammunition, My Navy by Sea, My Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I finde, that men jealous of the justifiableness of their doings and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, seeme it never so plausible to the people ; what cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had neede be fortified with power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all minds engaged in a violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come into their assistance ; others of them soon after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out : what one Party thought to rivet to a settlednes by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns ; at once, despising the Kirk government and Discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the successe of so chargeable more then charitable assistance: For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happiness of reformed Government and Discipline (if it had



had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially settled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods justice, and mans folly will at length be discovered, through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; In vaine doe men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can those considerations or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My best Subjects of *Scotland* never deferred Me, so I cannot thinke that the most are gone so far from Mee, in a prodigality of their love and respects towards Mee, as to make Me to despair of their returne; when besides the bonds of Nature and Conscience which they have to Me, all Reason and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crowne, not in their serviceableness to any party of the People, to neglect and betraying of My safety and Honour for their own advantages: However the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply my self to God.

*The troubles of my Soule are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou Me out of My distresse.*

*Lord direct thy Servant in the ways of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.*

*Deliver Me from the combined strength of those who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves innocency.*

*Though hand joine in hand, yet let them not prevaile against my Soule, to the betraying of my Conscience and Honour.*

*Thou, O Lord, canst turne the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah & Israel, to restore David with as much loyall zeale, as they did with inconstancy and eagernesse pursue him.*

*Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightnesse in Me, and I shall not despair of My Subjects affections returning towards me.*

*Thou canst soone cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire backe again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.*

*O My God, I trust in thee; let Me not be ashamed; let not my enemies triumph over Me.*

*Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned backe that persecute My Soule.*

*Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve me, for I waite on thee O Lord.*

*Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.*

## 14. Upon the Covenant.

**T**HE Presbyterian Scots are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant:

Where many engines of religious and faire pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase Episcopacy. This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemne a charme and exorcisme be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand yeares possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universall prescription of time and practise in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbytery, like a young Heire, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops chair and authority (though Lay-men goe away with the Revenues) all are used to sink Episcopacy, and Lanch Presbytery in England; which was lately Boyed up in Scotland by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant ( some referring to My self with very dubious and dangerous limitations ) yet I chiefly wonder at the designe and drift touching the Discipline & Government of the Church ; and such a manner of carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no lesse, then swearing for, or against those things , which are of no cleare moral necessity ; but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men : where the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement and certainty in ones self, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuses faire and equable deliberations ; yea, and dissenting too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoying of Oaths upon People much needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable ; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with their former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England* ; since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politicke and seemingly pious stratagems, they thinke to keep the populacy fast to their Parties under the terror of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest & wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and lawes, to God and Man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Party, without My consent, and without any like power or precedent from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects consciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull wayes; since I have the charity to think, that the chiefe end of the Covenant in such mens intentions was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then such ends and meanes they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience endeavour to carry on the best designs, (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious & ambitious) by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of  
the

the Covenant; unlesse they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized novelties, before their knowne and sworne duties, which are indispensable, both to God and My selfe.

I am prone to beleeeve and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firme to this Judgement, That such later Vowes, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out those former gravings, and characters, which by just and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Soules.

That which makes such Confederations by way of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common road, used in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: Where formalities of extraordinary zeale and piety are never more studied and elaborate, then, when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws, which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wrested by secret steps, and lesse sensible degrees, from their knowne rule and wonted practise, to comply with the humours of those men, who aime to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wyths will hold mens Consciences no longer, then force attends and twists them: for every man soon grows his own Pope, and easily absolves himselfe of those

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those ties; which, not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terrour of a Party casts upon him; either superfluous and vaine when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they finde the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former just and necessary obligations.

Indeed such illegall wayes seldom or never intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keepe their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, the divers or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions, and reservations, so as they crosse not the chief Designe, which is laid against the Church and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; so little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I beleve many that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now

to act clearely against both all piety and loyalty : who first yeelded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God* : for these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certain fixed either in Gods Laws, as to the Generall; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them : surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it ; which must needs then appeare, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enioyn it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church. My selfe, or the Publique Peace : Again if which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.



As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting & compliance, contrary to their former judgements, profession, and practice) such foule scandals and suspicions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of England, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home. All whose judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward then My self to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advice) be, by Gods Word, and right reason convinced to be amisse, I have offered more then ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of some mens actions makes it evident, that the maine Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights then the Bishops, and Church men. These, as the fattest Deere must be destroyed; the other

other Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his Citie, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factionous men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crowne with My Consent) so I have alwayes had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Churchmen so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or seil the Priests Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to doe: So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements; & like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and

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increase the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the red Sea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteems it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apostacy.*

I had rather live as my Predecessour *Henry the second* sometime did, on the Churches almes, then violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the people to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests and People, is well enough known: And so it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably

bly follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State ; since I think it no lesse then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our own power ; it being every mans sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are wayes enough to repair the breaches of the State, without the ruines of the Church ; as I would be a Restorer of the one so I would not be an Oppressor of the other under the pretence of publique Debts : The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse ; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be accessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, doe I addressse My Prayer, beseeching Thee to pardon the rashnesse of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense of observation of those just, morall, and indissoluble bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Conscience. From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacrilege under the zeale of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designses to have countenance of religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings  
that it is a snare to take things that are holy,  
and after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to per-  
jurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not  
have the brand and curse to all posteritie, of rob-  
bing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty  
hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted  
from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and  
Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Re-  
venues Diminished, and My Debts Encreased,  
yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such pro-  
fane Reparations; least a coale from thine Altar  
set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience, as  
will hardly be quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the  
Publique, which some mens folly and prodigallitie  
hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy  
Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing  
of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in  
times, where the Charity of most men is grown so  
cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church  
all those encouragements, which by the will of the  
pious Donours, and the justice of the Laws are due  
unto them; and give them grace to deserve and  
use them aright, to thy glory, and the reliefe of the  
poor; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righ-  
teousnesse, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let

Let not holy things be given to Swine ; nor Churches bread to Dogs ; rather let them grow about the Citie : grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, neither digest with them, nor theirs : Let them be as Naboths Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to doe wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues, who have bandyed together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

15. Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the KING, to stirre up the People against Him.

**I**F I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by falsities seek to oppresse the

Truth;

truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect  
of real causes, which might seeme to justifie  
unjust Engagements against me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open ho-  
mility come short of these designs : For, I can  
more willingly lose my Crowns, than my cre-  
dit; nor are my Kingdoms so dear to me, as  
my Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with my life; but  
these may survive to a glorious kinde of Im-  
mortality, when I am dead and gone: A good  
name being the embalming of Princes, and a  
sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of  
love, and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret  
engines at first employed against my peoples  
love of me : that undermining their opinion  
and value of me, my enemies, and theirs too,  
might at once blow up their affections, and  
batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment  
of my honour is not so afflictive to me, as the  
sin & danger of my peoples souls, whose eyes  
once blinded with such mists of suspitions,  
they are soon misled into the most desperate  
precipices of actions : wherein they doe not  
only, not consider their sin and danger, but  
glory in their zealous adventures; while I am  
exposed to them so fit to be destroyed, that  
many are ambitious to merit the name of My  
Destroyers, imagining they then feare God  
most, when they least honor their King.

I thanke God, I never found but My plea was above My anger ; nor have My passion ever so prevailed against Me , as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more then their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the charity to interpret , that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errors , not My person ; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope the God pardoning their Errours, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to do him better service, & My people more good than hitherto I have done.

I doe not more willingly forgive their seductions , which occasioned their loyall injuries , then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My owne affection toward the generality of My people to suspect theirs to Me ; nor shall the malice of my Enemies ever be able to deprive Mee of the comfort which that confidence gives Mee ; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.



The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of my Subjects actions ; who possibly may be erroneous, but not heretical in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the injuries done to My Subjects, is as sharpe as those done to My selfe ; our welfares being inseparable ; in this onely they suffer more then My selfe, that they are persecuted by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and me.

For this is not enough to the malice of my Enemies, that I be afflicted ; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and forreign Enemies, I could have borne it ; but they must be My owne Subjects, who are next to My Children dear to Me : And for the restoring of whose tranquility, I could willingly be the Sufferer ; If I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided Interests of their and My Enemies, as by contrary windes, the storme of their miseries would be rather increased than allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then rule over them ; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion which is but my Right, as  
of

of their happinesse ; If it could expiate countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and dye many deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonorably to betray my own just Rights and Sovereignty ; thereby to justify the ambition, or justify the malice of my enemies ; between whose malice, and others mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague, or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, so malicious persons need good inventions ; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy ; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience ( I thanke God ) will better serve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leisure to answer the many false Accusations which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication, I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evill manners, and scared consciences, which will, I believe, in a short

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time then they be aware of, both confute & revenge all those blacke and false Scandals which they have cast on mee; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same furnace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat & inflame to the highest degree of insamy, and wherein they have sought to cast & consume My Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave me more cause to suspect, and search my owne Innocency; then when I observed so many forward to engage against me, who had made great professions of singular piety; For this gave to vulgar minds so bad a reflection upon me, and my Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to mee, and not withall part from God; to think or speake well of mee, and not to blaspheme him; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thanke God) many with me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men

glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of my sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with me, then forsake me.

Nor is it strange that so religious pretensions as were used against me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose me; Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, & what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulnessse of the meanes used, nor the depth of the mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weaknesse of these mens judgments must be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize me & mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not downe mine as false.

I thank God, I have had more tryall of his grace, as to the constancy of my Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedness in that Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiqui-  
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ty, will not give my Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous & divided Innovations, which the bold ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon me, and my People.

Contrary to those well tryed foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer zeal, have settled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the most calme, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, in believing it hath most of Primitive Truth in Order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists, which were my Subjects, any way fight against my Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out; where there is the sameness of duty, Allegiance, and subjection: The first they owe as men, and Christians to God; the second, they owe to me in Common, as their King; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes; And where there is

such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service ( who find most fault with mee ) without any scruple , as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions.

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestant, to inforce me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to help me to defend my self.

Nor did I more then is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance then many Protestant Professors ; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeede , it had beene a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in me, ( and very pleasing no doubt to my Enemies ) to have been then disputing the point of different beliefs in my Subjects , when I was disputed with by Swords points : and when I needed the help of my Subjects as men, no less then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of my Evill Counsellors was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsells but their own, should be followed in Church or State ; who were

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were so eager in giving Mee better counsell, that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honour, as a King; making their counsels more like a drench that must be powred downe, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane error and frailties My selfe, or My Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were farre more reparable by second and better thoughts, then those enormous extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make, it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst counsels that My worst Councillors ever had the boldnesse to offer Mee, or My selfe any inclination to use; I could not so soone have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a Chaos of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either Me, or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complaine, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expe-

station of moderate men : who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My self, out of Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon me, my Court, and my Clergy ; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all my, either Retractions, or Concessions ; and withall, hath deprived all those now ( so zealous Persecutors ) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended Persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not to be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crowne of Christian patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw my peoples affections from me, to their designs, was, the noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the popular sence, which is to doe what every man liketh best.

If the Divinest liberty be to wil what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Lawes, and Religion ; I envy not my Subjects that liberty, which is all I desire to enjoy my self ; So farre am I from the desire of oppressing theirs : Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted mee so prodigall of their liberties, as with their lives and



and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their ambitious and Covetous designs over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever desire greater Freedoms than the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Menacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth its rule and direction, losing justly his safety while he seeks an unreasonable liberty.

Time will best informe my Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousnesse against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardinesse to use their King with so severe restraints; against all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth, and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tendernesse (attended with humility and meeknesse, not with proud and arrogant activiry, which seeks

to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schisme ) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods Sovereignty, which is the only King of mens Consciences ; and yet he hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for conscience sake, giving no men liberty to break the Law established, further then with meeknetle and patience, they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publique Peace.

The truth is, some men thirst after Novelties, others despair to relieve the necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfy their Ambition, in peaceable times, ( distrusting Gods providence, as well as their own merits ) were the secret (but principall) impulsives to these popular Commotions, by which, Subjects have been perswaded to expend much of those plentiful Estates they got, and enjoyed under My Government. in peaceable times ; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent ; and My selfe exposed to all these contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and encreate the ungratefull infolencies of My People.

For Mine Honour, I am well assured, that as Mine Innocency is cleare before God, in point of any calumnies they object, so My reputation

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putation shall like the Sun ( after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times ) rise and recover it selfe to such a degree of splendour, as those serall birds shall be grieved to behold, & unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom God hath suffer'd to be tri- ed in the furnace of afflictions, by their inju- rious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull God will doe Me good ; for some mens hard, false, and evill speeches against Me ; wherein they speak rather what they wish , than what they beleeve, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Ho- nour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames ) then those men doe, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetfull of their duty to God and Me : By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their K I N G against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels , *seek evill of digni- ties, and bring railing accusations against those,* who are honoured with the name of Gods.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, should not Honour their K I N G.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all

the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority. and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils be able to hide the shining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majesty.

*Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My dishonour. My Adversaries are all before thee.*

*My soule is among Lyons, among them that are set on fire, even the Sons of Men; whose teeth are spears and arrowes; their tongue a sharp sword.*

*Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long, and those that are mad against Me are sworn together.*

*O My God, how long shall the Sons of Men turn My glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?*

*Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, least My Enemies prevaile against Me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.*

*Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies, the Lord will abhor both the bloud-thirsty, and deceitfull men.*

*Make my righteousness to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon-day.*

*Suffer*

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence,  
nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my  
Saviours example, being reviled, I may not re-  
vile againe; and being curs'd by them, I may  
blesse them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimei's tongue  
to goe unpunished; when by thy judgements on  
David he might seeme to justifie his disdainfull  
reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy  
mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of  
false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of  
evernall fire, may not be brought upon them.

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to  
coole and quench their tongues, who are already  
set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented  
with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence  
their evill-speaking by well-doing; and let them  
enjoy, not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer  
for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids patience, and Hezekiah's de-  
votion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans  
malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshakeh's  
railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as my  
humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing  
toward me.

Though they curse doe thou blesse, and I shall  
be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse,  
may become the head-stone of the corner.

Look.

Look down from Heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.*

**I**T is no newes to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gaine reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, must needs undo what ever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godlinesse.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion, (being the soules more immediate converse with the divine Majesty) nothing could be more plausible to the people, then to tell them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgy, or Forms of constant Prayers must be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner,

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manner, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cashiered, and abolished, and after many popular contempts offered to the Booke, and those that used it according to their consciences, and the Lawes in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary veine and fluency : or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery & Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of England; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholesome words being knowne and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I see any reason why Christians should

should be weary of a well-composed Liturgie (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.

— I could never see any Reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of prayer, since he prayes to the same God, beleeves in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well beforehand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sense; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may be good, when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread*.

Some men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not only despise (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall pattern of all set Liturgies in the Christian Church.

— I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vaine affectations of variety for expressions, in publique prayer, or any sacred administrations, merits



merits a greater brand of sin, than that which they call Coldnesse and Barrennesse : Nor are men in those novelties lesse subject to formall and superficiall tempers, ( as to their hearts ) than in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the most extemporary variety ; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions : Nor is God more a God of variety, than of constancy : Nor are constant Forms of prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer and devotion, than un-premeditated and confused variety, to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the peoples affections to the present occasions ; yet I know no necessitie why private and single abilities should quite justle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men ; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were ; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation & concurrent advice, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, and stirre up that fiduciary and fervent  
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application of their spirits ( wherein consisteth the very life and soule of prayer , and that is much pretended Spirit of prayer ) than any private man by his solitary abilities , can be presumed to have ; which , what they are many times ( even there , where they make a great noise and shew ) the affectations, emptinesse, impertinency, rudenesse, confusions, flatnesse, levity, obscurity, vain, and ridiculous repetitions, the senselesse, and oft-times blasphemous expressions ; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaick way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinit shame of what they so do & say, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed, profane manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall administrations, and the like, which are still the same ; Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of publick composition; or else they must every time affect new expressions when the subject is the same ; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want ( many times ) much

of

of that compleatnesse, order, and gravity, becoming those duties ; which by this meanes are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders, and defects, both for judgement and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of publique Composure.

The want of which I beleieve this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errors, schismes, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the More is the pity.

However, if violence must needs bring in and abet those Innovations, ( that men may not seem to have nothing to do ) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juttle out the publique Liturgy.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-Book; or refusing to use it, cryed out of the rigour of Laws and Bishops, which

which suffered them not to use the liberty of their Conscience in not using it.

That these men, (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as it were cloathed in, and confined to fit words (So slight & easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the Vulgar. )

That further, they should use such severity as not to suffer without penalty, any to use the Common-Prayer-Book publicquely, although their Consciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exactors upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, than such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawfull Constitutions; and whose licentious humours more pretended conscientious liberties, which freedom, with much regret, they now allow Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve Me, whose abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, that some men knew it would not bear learned & sober debates, lest being convinced by the evi-

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dence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have beene driven either to sin more against their knowledg, by taking away the Liturgy ; or to displease some faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not only for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than those are, whose weakness or giddinesse they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-prayer Booke, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for me ; to which Petitions they had not loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet charity enough to forbear reproaches, and even curings of me in their own formes, instead of praying for me.

I wish their repentance may be their only punishment ; that seeing the mischiefs, which the disuse of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Formes of sound and wholesome words.

*And thou, O Lord, which art the same God blessed for ever : whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy ; Thou denyest us not a new and fresh sense of our olde and daily wants ; nor despiseſt*

spifest renewed affections joyned to constant expi-  
sions.

Let us not want the benefits of thy Churches  
nited and wel-devised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable  
thy will, which is alwayes the same, and the fu-  
vency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit  
in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spirituall pe-  
fections are such as thou art neither to be pleased  
with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor  
offended with the pious constancy of our petitions  
them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no when  
either forbidden or commanded, but left them  
the piety & prudence of thy Church, that both may  
be used, neither despised.

Keepe men in that pious moderation of their  
judgements in matters of Religion; that their ig-  
norance may not offend others, nor their opinion  
their owne abilities tempt them to deprive others  
what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help  
their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consists  
novelty and variety, as truth in unity and constan-  
cy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with er-  
rors, and deformed with undecencies in thy ser-  
vice under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor  
to be deprived of truth, unity, and order under  
this fallacy, That constancy is the cause of fer-  
mality.

Lord keep us from formall hypocrisie in our own  
 hearts, and when we know that praying to thee, or  
 imitating of thee (with David, & other holy men)  
 the same forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amisse with-  
 out us, and there will be lesse to amend without us.  
 Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from  
 the effects of blind zeal, and over bold devotion.

7. *Of the difference betweene the King  
 and the two Houses in point of Church-  
 government.*

Touching the Government of the Church  
 by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath  
 been, that I am earnest and resolute to main-  
 tain it, not so much out of piety, as policy,  
 and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth  
 induce mee to approve that Government a-  
 bove any other, as I finde it imposible for a  
 Prince to preserve the State in quier, unlesse  
 he hath such an influence upon Church-men,  
 and they such a dependance on him, as may  
 best restraints the seditious exorbitancies of  
 Ministers tongues; who with the keyes of  
 Heaven have so far the Keyes of the Peoples  
 hearts, as they prevail much by their Orato-  
 ry to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loy-  
 alty.

So

So that I being (as King) intrusted by God and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State ; I see no Reason I should give up or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion that I incline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his conscience.

I must now in charity be thought desirous to preserve that government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion ; wherein both my judgment is fully satisfied, that hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches ; till of late years the tumultuosity of People, or the factiousness and pride of Presbyters, or the coverousness of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and proposed them under specious titles of *Christian Government, Scepter, and Kingdome*, the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They must give Me leave, (having none of their temptations to invite Mee to alter the



Government of Bishops, (that I may have a  
 to their Estates) not to believe their pre-  
 ed grounds to any new wayes : contrary  
 the full and constant testimony of al Histo-  
 es, sufficiently convincing unbyassed men ;  
 as the Primitive Churches were undoubt-  
 ly governed by the Apostles and their im-  
 mediate Successors the first and best Bishops ;  
 it cannot in reason or charity be supposed,  
 all Churches in the world should either  
 ignorant of the rule by them prescribed,  
 so soon deviate from their divine and holy  
 ern : That since the first Age, for 1500.  
 years not one example can be produced of a  
 settled Church, wherein were many Mini-  
 sters and Congregations, which had not some  
 Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction  
 and government they were.

Whose constant and universall practise a-  
 geing with so large, and evident Scripture-  
 rections & examples, as are set down in the  
 istles to *Timothy* & *Titus*, for the setting of  
 that Government not in the persons only of  
*Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession ; (the  
 want of Government being that, which the  
 Church can no more dispense with, in point  
 of well-being, than the want of the word and  
 Sacraments in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke with so  
 curious an eye upon Bishops power and au-  
 thority as to oversee both the Ecclesiasticall  
 use

use of them, and Apostolicall constitution: which to mee seemes no lesse evidently is forth: as to the main scope & design of those Epistles, for the setting of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as President Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, censures, and other acts of Ecclesiasticall discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude & community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called Bishops; as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* & *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, then assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that speciall dignity which had extraordinary call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, untill Use (the great arbitrator of words, and master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons whose power and office were indeed distinct from,

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and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the Churches; the honour of (whose name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that speciall authority) appropriated also the name of Bishop, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancy, to those, who were by Apostolicall propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy & Titus*; whose speciall power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds & limits of all Episcopall claim, as from divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound Doctrine, and clear testimonies of all Churches practise, are most pervers Disputers, and proud Usurpers against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytors and Boasters, yet they seeme to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate and fierce lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay & smother the pregnacy & authority of that pow-

er of Episcopall Government, which beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see ( if ever these Papers be publique ) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture canons, and Ecclesiasticall examples, whereon My judgement was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to Mee as to recompence the injuries and losses I and My dearest relations with My Kingdoms have sustained and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrel.

And not only in Religion, of which Scripture is the best rule, and the Churches universall practise the best commentary, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianity then it is in all secular and civill Governments, where parity breeds confusion and faction.

I can no more believe, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Not

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them amongst Christian Ministers; who have as much of the principles of schisme and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolicall wisdom (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied to many congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order and union with authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used, and enjoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt counsell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errors, corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a meanes to take away that burden, and odium of affairs, which may lye too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I

think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magisteriall; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoyding Faction and confusion, Emulations and contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and functions, but also the difference of some Ministers gifts and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to employ them, in reference to those Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgment of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well knowne I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chiefe Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute, when in the whole streame runnes so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivolet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affairs rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly

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reformed and governed by Bishops, should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom, the Churches in My three Kingdomes lately governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ (as many doe in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandal in point of Church-government; whom, though you may covince of their Errours in some points of Doctrine, yet you shall never perswade them, that to compleate their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholike, Primitive, and Apostolicall: So far, that never Schismatics, nor Hereticks (except those Arrians) have strayed from the Unity and conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late generall approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by

the Clergy, as wel as the Laity of these Kingdomes, is a great confirmation of My Judgment ; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their novelty; I cannot in civility so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did ; or that they did conform contrary to their consciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oaths and practice, against their obedience to the Lawes in force, and against My consent, have not only quite cryed downe the Government by Bishops ; but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegall stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those church-lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgments ; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the Scots Army coming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it selfe, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appear the gteatest Enemies to, and betrayers of their own interest : for Presbytery is never so considerable or effectuell, as when

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it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will finde as great a difference in point of thriving between the favour of the people, and of Princes, as plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dewes of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soone let them see, what a poor carcasse they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworne.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs ; I am firme to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated ( if I can hinder it. ) Discretion without passion might easily reforme what-ever the rust of times, or indulgence of Lawes, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon Function, the faults of times, or persons ; which seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhorre.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour & Estate, which my Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men ; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church Government ; also enablements to workes of Charity, & Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their

Authority in point of respect and observance, which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meannesse exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners, which persecuting times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those encouragements, and be able to use them: if at any time my judgement of men failed, my good intention made my error veniall: And some Bishops, I am sure; I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Ministers equall; and the Independent inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgement touching Episcopacy, wherein (God knows) I doe not gratifie any designe or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects

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Subjects; or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Me their KING and Sovereign, as some men have endeavoured to doe, against all these grounds of My Judgement, to consent to their weak and divided novel-ties.

The greatest Pretender of them desires no more than I doe, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other wayes: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy & solitude; when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government being necessary for the Churches well-being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; and may so still, if ignorance, supersti-

tion, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so blowne up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasons or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; where in some mens zeale for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues, hath set them on work to eate up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to Me is no lesse sin than Sacrilege; or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given againe to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water as a libation offered to himselfe.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulnessse of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soone, with Judgement, breake that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that, to which I am sworn; How can any man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade me at once to so notorious and combined

combined finnes, of Sacriledge and Perjury ? Besides the many personall Injustices I must doe to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Lively-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to rendernesse of Conscience and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to Consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedome which every man ought to preserve; and of which they seeme so tender in their own Votes; yet at the same time these men will needs perswade Me, That I must, and ought to dispence with, and roundly breake that part of My Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange My oath should be valid in that part, which both My self, and all men in their own case, esteeme injurious and unreasonable; as being against the very naturall and essentiall liberty of our soules; yet it should be invalid, & to be broken in another clause, wherein I think My selfe justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly I have been held

held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civill dissentions; till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in My Soule abhor; as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto, if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give My consent; yet should I not by so doing satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contended with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can my late condescending to the Scots in point of Church-government, be rightly objected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in my other Kingdomes; For it should be considered that Episcopacy was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdome as in this; for what I think in my judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute my yeelding to them, as my failing and sinne, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to doe so againe, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath my yeelding to them been so happy and success-  
fully,

full, as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meeknesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect My judgement to be biassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontednesse of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new wayes of Goverament.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in my Kingdomes (by Gods blessing) which might make Me beleieve either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it farre better to hold to primitive and uniforme Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church-

Church-affaires should be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of my Judgement and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightness and tenderesse, as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church; so suffer me not by any violence, to be over-borne against my Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintaine thine own Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in purest and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of singular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed; others passe by without regard, either to pitie, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.

And although I am not suffered to be Master of my other Rights as a KING, yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.

Preserve



Preserve from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporall blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sinnes and errours, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Boare, and subtil Foxes, to waste and deforme thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

O let me not beare the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian KING, in this Kingdome, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errours I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reforme with meeknesse, than expose their persons, and sacred Functions to vulgar contempts.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church, make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me and it, from unreasonable men, whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, schismes, and disorders.

O thou God of order, and of truth, in thy good time abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

18. Upon

18. *Upon Uxbridge Treaty ; and  
other Offers made by the KING.*

**I** Looke upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like beasts, to arguing like men ; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it ; having greater confidence of My Reason, than My Sword. I was so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first, that I thought neither my selfe, nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of me, to prevent them with Expresses of my desires, and even importunities to Treat : It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, than Force ; but also of Christianity to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My selfe with Armes, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all Warre by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill Warre uncomfortable ; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischiefe of the meanes.

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with me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man ; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man ; All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience ; the one I could not part with as a King, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure ; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the war had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as farre as Reason, Honour, and Conscience, would give me leave ; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My Peoples happinesse, or of such consequence, as in the least kinde to have hindered my Subjects either security, or prosperity ; for they better enjoyed both many years, before ever those demands were made, some of which to deny, I think the greatest Justice to My seife, and favour to my Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised : Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage : what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in Peace, or to lose in Warre, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church-affaires, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon me ; yet I was willing to condescend

tend so farre to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition, had not engaged more, than any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might seeme to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set downe My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection, as also to the Primitive Apostolicall patterne, and the practise of the Universall Church conforme thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wils and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, & fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, than Mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, than crosse some mens Factionous humours.

God knowes, and time will discover, who were most too blame for the unsuccessfullnesse of that Treaty, and who must beare the guilt of after-calamities. I beleieve, I am very

my excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of Peace to My people, than the preservation of my own Crownes to my Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness, and glory most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was always to aske something, which in reason and honour must be denyed, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting peace at as high a rate as the worst effects of Warre; endeavouring first to make Me destroy My selfe, by dishonourable concessions, that so they might have the lesse to doe.

This was all which that Treaty or any other produced, to let the world see how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the publick peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any concessions or Negotiations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame for what they refused.

The highest tide of successe set Mee not above.

bove a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: though I never thought it any sign of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then be drawne to produce our owne reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made me for the most part perswade the unsuccessfullnesse of any Treaty, was some mens unwillingnesse to Treat: which implied some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonablenesse they were loath to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the sword a better opportunity to use such moderation as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with My selfe: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer; and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy selfe, and both to procure and

and preserve Peace among our-selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speake thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings to see thy Truth, both in Reason as Men, and in Religion, as Christians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be amongst our selves.

Remove the evils of War we have deserved, and bestow upon us that peace, which only Christ. our great Peace-maker can merit.

### 19. Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeats.

**T**HE various successes of this unhappy war, have at least afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try Me with Victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to owne, and use his power, who is the only true Lord of Hosts; able when he pleases to repress the confidence of those that fought against Me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From

From small beginnings on My part hee let Me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by my Peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, & teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of My Cause : and those that were with Mee wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and Me : Nor were My enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personall and private finnes may oft-times over-balance the Justice of publick engagements ; nor doth God account every gallant man ( in the worlds esteem ) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause ; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour, and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the eternal fate of their soules.

Those with Me had ( I thinke ) clearly and undoubtedly for their Justification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together

with



with their own oaths; all requiring obedience to my just commands; but to none other under Heaven without me, or against me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flye to the shifts of some pretended fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being my Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Lawes: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by lifted Forces: The same Allegations they use, whil fit any Faction that hath but power & confidence enough to second with the Sword, all their demands against the present Lawes and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them, some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who dyed fighting against Me, the Lawes, their Oaths, and the Religion established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applyed onely to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was deare to them in this world; who having no advantagious designs

signes by an Inpovation, were Religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and My self, which lay upon their soules, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but hee did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their souls.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happinesse; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish & disloyall fiercenesse could deprive them of, or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against My side in the Field, but never, I believe at the bar of Gods Tribunall, or their own consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict with, and accuse them in their own thoughts, then they are were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whole

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein their and My Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted consciences do pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how false & un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against me, and the Lawes established; in whose safety & preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Country doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on my side might joyne true piety with the sense of their loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own soules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot thinke, that any shewes, or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispense with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to me, which have

so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even prophaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for Mee.

I never had any victory which was without my sorrow, because it was on my owne Subjects, who, like *Absolom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any defeat, which made me despair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories as might serve to conquer, but onely restore the Lawes and Liberties of My people; which I saw were extremely oppressed, together with my Rights by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave me, or denied me Victory, my desire was neither to boast of my power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things to work together for my good.

I wished no greater advantages by the war, then to bring my Enemies to moderation, and my Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over my selfe. When the first was denied, the second was granted me, which God saw best for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winne

that, by punishing our finnes; he might purge them from us, and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for peace shewed, that I delighted not in War: as My former Concessions sufficiently testified; how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocency forbade Me to feare a Warre; but the love of My Kingdomes commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing, but this, That I gave such advantages to some Men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty, and gratitude, which became their loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeilded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denyed more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish only a happy conclusion, of unhappy beginnings: The unavoidable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the Divine Justice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to destroy one another: for, the most prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.

Those victories are still miserable; that leave our sins unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, & lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to a happy conclusion of these Civill Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make mee content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my selfe, and my Enemies by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left assisting; fashion in that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperitie, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our owne strength thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and

wee are nothing; that thou mayest have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evill from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; punishing my selfe in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a sufferer; I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for mee.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed; that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these civill distractions, but a chiefe Instrument to restore and establish a firme and blessed Peace to my Kingdomes.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such selfe-denyall, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the union of all is every good mans chiefe interest.

If O Lord, as for the finnes of our Peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of Warre; so for the finnes of Warre thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so keepe us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that Peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

*Impute not to Mee the blood of My Subjects, which with infinite unwillingnesse and grieve, hath been shed by me, in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that precious blood which hath been shed for Me, by my great Peace-maker, Jesus Christ. Who wil, I trust, redeeme me shortly out of all my troubles; for, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.*

## 20. Upon the Reformation of the Times.

**N**O glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour Mee so farre, as to make Mee an Instrument of so good a worke, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was wel pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to reform what the indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion

serled;



settled; which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance the passions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite scandall of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order and Government, in the Church; what novelries of Schismes, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confusions in sacred administrations; what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppression of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions & persecutings of Me, have followed, (as showres do warm gleams) the talke of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesses, and with My selfe, sad spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of zeale, and the publique sense; so that the study to please some Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are sure the best tempers of reforming Councils, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, than it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church-affaires and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsels as they

would have included the Votes of all, so it's like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have imployed (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church-Affaires, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedome and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-aw'd, to do and declare what they doe.

For I cannot think so many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universall practise) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and feares, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their owne former judgement and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them, of Order, Learning, & Religion, against examples of all Ancient Churches; the Lawes in force, and My consent; which is never to be

be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point, shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctuall in precepts, there the constant and Universall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbytery, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that, wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels; and such (I beleeve) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designs: which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations, and discontents.

The specious and popular titles, of Christs Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome (which certainly is not divided; nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at least).

least ) also the noise of a thorough Reformation, these may as easily be fixed on new models, as faire colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windowes, which Time had sufficiently defaced ; pulling down of Crosses, which were but civill, not Religious marks ; defacing of Monuments, and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posterity in minde, to thank God, for that clearer light, wherein they live ; The leaving of Ministers to their liberties, and private abilities, in the publick service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say *Amen* ; nor what adventure he may make, of seeming, at least, to consent to the Errours, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other offices. Their setting forth also of old Catechismes, & Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much, as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before some four or five yeares consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these, and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to doe ) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, ( who are taken with novelties,

velties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long. } But all this amounts not to, nor can in justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompense or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work, to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws, and long Customes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civill Warre, by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My selfe and all My Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should forme and set up; If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdom, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reforme all to Christs Rule, it would certainly

ly

ly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publique Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to try on others ; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of Publick Reformations, to such private designs as must needs hinder the publique good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church, cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civill State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *Feare God, is, Honour the King.*

I doubt not but Christs Kingdome may be set up without pulling down Mine ; nor will any men in impartiall times appeare good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs Government will confirme Mine, not overthrow it, since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christs Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words and actions, both against Me, and one another. As.

As good ends cannot iustifie evill means, so nor wil evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions ; unlesse God, by a miracle of Mercie, create Light out of Darknesse, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

*Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie ; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings instead of Christian reformings.*

*Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own soules.*

*That we may in cleanness of judgement, and uprightness of heart be means to reforme what is indeed amisse in Church and State.*

*Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us ; that wee may doe all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.*

*Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State ; Quench the fires which Factions have kindled under the pretence of Reforming.*

*As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weaknesse of their judgements ; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformatiōs ; wherein nothing of ambition,*

bilion, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacriledge; may have any influence upon their Councells, whom thy providence in just and lawfull wayes, shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary worke. That I and my people may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

### 21. Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.

**T**He taking of my Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected; so they know not how with honour and civility to use it: Nor doe I thinke with sober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of vertue and noblenesse being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; the freedome and secrecie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing



thing more inhumane than to expose them to publique view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart ( which I study to approve to Gods omniscience ) should be discovered to the world, without any of those drestes, or popular captations, which some men use in their Speeches, and Expresses; I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts:

Where they might discover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve My own Rights, than to procure their peace and happinesse, and that extreme grieve to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to see My constancy to My Wife, the Lawes, and Religion, Bees wil gather honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressuress of my enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies; no man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth, since My Subjects can hardly be happie if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how soon mens design, like *Abdoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such

such distances as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expressions can doe them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedome in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the innocency of My chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more than an happy composition of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to my own, than my peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those My Letters may be convinced, that I can both minde and act my own, and my Kingdomes Affaires, so as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath should be beleaved of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they please to brand with the names of evill Counsellours.

Its probable some men will now look upon Me as my own Counsellour, and having none else to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my self. Although I know they are very unwilling I should

should enjoy the liberty of my own thoughts, or follow the light of my own conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves; not allowing me to thinke their Counsells to be other then good for me, which have so long maintained a War against me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom prosperitie gaines the greatest esteem and applause; as adversitie exposeth to their greatest slighting and disrespect: As if good fortune were always the shadow of virtue and justice, and did not oftner attend vicious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They thinke no victories so effectually to their designs, as those that most rout and waste my credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle againe, so as to recover mine, the Lawes, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking

taking away of my life, and my Kingdom; First I must seem neither fit to live, nor worthy to Reign ; By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty , I must be compelled, first to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be destroyed : But I know Gods unerring and impartiall Justice can, and will over-rule the most perverse wills and designs of men ; He is able, and ( I hope ) will turne even the worst of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor doe I thinke, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more then so many papers ; How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity ( which ought to be payd to all men , and most becomes such as pretend to Religion ) besides that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their King, present; and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid , as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour , which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they doe but remember how God blest the modest respect and filiall tenderesse , which Noah's sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie Chams impudency, or exempt

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him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants* ; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous; who thought by this means to expose Me to the highest reproach and contempt of my People, forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their country, in case they had discovered any real unbecomelineffe, which, I thanke God, they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as a vile person, not fit to be trusted or considered under any notion of Majesty.

But thou O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingencies of humane affairs; make mee to see the constancy of thy mercies to me in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against Me.

As thou didst blast the counsell of Achitophel, turning it to Davids good, and his own ruine: so canst thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else but to render me more odious and contemptible to my People.

I must first appeale to thy Omniſciense, who canſt witneſſe with My integrity, how unjuſt] and false thoſe ſcandalous miſconſtructions are which my enemies endeavour by thoſe Papers of Mine, to re- preſent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby againſt Me, ſo to returne on their own heads, that they may be aſhamed, & covered with their own conſuſion as with a cloake.

Thou ſeeſt how Mine Enemies uſe all meanes to cloud Mine Honour, to pervert My purpoſes, and to ſlander the footſteps of thine Anointed.

But give Me an heart content to be diſhonoured for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in Me a purpoſe to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour Mee, either by reſtoring to Mee the enjoyment of that Power and Maieſtie, which thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to ſeek to deprive Me of; or by beſtowing on Me that Crowne of Chriſtian patience, which knowes how to ſerve thee in honour or diſhonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountaine of goodneſſe, and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Maieſty; Make Mee to partake of thy excellency for wiſdome, juſtice, and mercy, and I ſhall not want that degree of Honour and Maieſty, which becomes the Place in which thou haſt ſet Me; who art the liſter up of My head, and My ſalvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Upon His Majesties leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots.*

**A**Lthough G O D hath given mee three Kingdomes, yet in these Hee hath not now left mee any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest my Head : Shewing me that himselfe is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God. He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my selfe, and my now distressed affairs upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence : Necessity is now my Councillor, and commands mee to study my safety by a disguised with-drawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honorably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them, may disarm and overcome them; my rendring my Person to Them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the fiddle of their loyalty &

alty : and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they doe, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefeft Guard , and My Conscience both My Councillor and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands , yet I shall reserve my Soule to God, and My selfe ; nor shall any necessities compell Me, to desert mine Honour , or swerve from my judgement.

What they fought to take by force , shall now be given them, in such a way of unusuall confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such as they ought , and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive Me of all Military power to defend My selfe; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affaires , and so necessitous may the state of Princes be , that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety , and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have adhered to me , and apply to those that have Opposed Me ; this method of Peace may be more prosperous than that of Warre, both to stop the effusion of bloud, & to close those wounds already made : and in it I am no lesse sollicitous for my Friends safety, than mine owne:

choosing



choosing to venture my selfe upon further hazards, rather than expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost, better fairly to give over, than to contest in vain.

I must now study to re-inforce my judgement, and fortifie my minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up my Soules liberty, or make my Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded my consent to their new demands.

I thank God, no successe darkens or disguises Truth to me; and I shall no lesse conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had beene as the words of a King ought to be among Loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the Divineest power, I shall never think my self weakned while I may make full and free use of that. No Eclipse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace I hope will supply with inward resolutions; not morosly to deny what is fit to be granted, but not to grant any thing which Reason and Religion bids me deny.

I shall never thinke my selfe lesse then my self while I am able thus to preserve the integrity of my conscience, the only Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Sovereign of our Soules, the onely Commander of our Consciences ; though I know not what to doe, yet mine eyes are toward thee : To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my selfe.

As thou hast preserved mee in the day of Battle, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me ; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to overshadow and protect me : be to me, both a Sunne and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perversenesse of will, but just perswasions of Honour, Reason, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard My Person, Peace, and Safety, against those, who by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not My just resolutions to abate with My outward Forces ; let a good Conscience alwayes accompany Me in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer Me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortresse of My soule, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead Me in the paths of thy righteousness, and shew me thy salvation.

Make My wayes to please thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to be at peace with Me.

23. *Upon the Scots delivering the King  
to the English, and His Captivity at  
Holmby.*

**Y**ET may I justify those *SCOTS* to all the World in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further than to men: if I am sold by them, I am only sorry they should doe it, and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essayes, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself, who never faileth them that trust in him: Though the Reeds of Egypt break under the hand of him that leans on them, yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himselfe, that in him I may enjoy my self, which I lose, while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leisure enough to study the worlds vanity, and inconstancy.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive mee of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the blacke List

of irreligious, and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare my Soul in sin; nor gain that of mee which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph that they have got my Person into their power, since my Soule is still my own; nor shal they ever gaine My Consent against My Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which, Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forqid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was no evill Councillors with Me, but a good Conscience in Me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring Mee to My Parliament, till they had brought My mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish Me; not more a King, and farre lesse both man and Christian.

What Tumults & Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint; which though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The feare of men shall never be My snare, nor shall the love of any liberty entangle My soule; Better others betray me than my self; and

and that the price of my liberty should be my Conscience; the greatest injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon mee, cannot be without my own consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of mee but this, That I would seeme willing to helpe them to destroy my selfe and mine.

Although they should destroy me, yet they shall have no cause to despise me.

Neither liberty nor life are so deare to me as the peace of my conscience, the Honour of my Crownes, and the welfare of my People, which my Word may injure more than any Warre can doe; while I gratifie a few to oppresse all.

The Lawes will, by Gods blessing, revive; with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects, if I bury them not by my Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour and injustice which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it his Soules, his Peoples, and Posterities thraldome.

After times may see, what the blindnesse  
K 2 of

of this Age will not; and God may at length shew my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them: happily I might redeem my selfe to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them, from whom I pray God deliver them, what ever becomes of me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good and great, art with Me, whose presence is better than life: and whose service is perfect freedome.

Own Me for thy Servant, & I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse Me still with Reason as a man: with Religion as a Christian, and with constancy in justice, as a King.

Though thou suffereest Mee to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve Me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy selfe: & which cannot be taken from Me against My will.

Let no fire of affliction boyle over My passion to any impatience or sordid feares.

There be many say of Mee, there is no helpe for Me: doe thou, lift up the light of thy Countenance upon Me, and I shall neither want safety, liberty, nor Majesty.

Give me that measure of patience and Constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Person restrained: O be not thou far from me lest my Enemies prevail too much against me.

I am become a wonder and a scorn to many: O be thou my helper and defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish mee with thy free Spirit, that I may doe and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to mee O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, unill these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth, though thou ledest me through the vale and shadow of Death, yet shall I feare none ill.

24 Upon their denying His Majestie the attendance of his Chaplains.

WHEN Providence was pleased to deprive mee of all other civil comforts, and secular attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of My Chaplaines; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their learn-

ing, piety and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their Pious help a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowings of temporall crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined me unto, adds the Wildernesse to my temptations; For the company they obtrude upon me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the Militia, or any one of My Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denyed in those things, where the evill policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse any injurious usurpation: But to deny Me the Ghostly comfort of My Chaplains, seems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their bodies, and to damn their soules.

But my Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angell; for  
such



such I account a Learned, godly, and discreet Divine: and such I would have all mine to be.

They that envie my being a King, are loath I should be a Christian, while they seek to deprive me of all things else, They are afraid I should save my Soule.

Other Sense, Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the Unchristianesse of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present comforters or Physitians; Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon mee.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that devotionall compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with me, and for me; since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousy of me, or in opposition against me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden

den Rule; and bond of perfection consist in  
that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worse than the disease;  
and some comforters more miserable than  
misery it self: when like Jobs friends they see  
not to fortifie ones minde with patience, but  
perswade a man by betraying his own in-  
cency; to despaire of Gods mercy: and by  
justifying their injuries, to strengthen the  
hands; and harden the hearts of insolent  
newbies.

I am so much a friend to all Church men,  
that have any thing in them beseeching the  
facted function; that I have hazarded my  
own Interests; chiefly upon Conscience and  
Constancy to maintain their Rights; when  
the more I looked upon us Orphans and un-  
der the sacrilegious eyes of many owell and  
rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my du-  
ty the more to appear as a Father, and Pa-  
tron for them and the Church. Although I  
am very unhandsomely requited by some of  
them; who may live to repent no little for  
my sufferings; than their own ingratitude  
foules, and that injurious contempts and in-  
juries, which they have brought upon their  
Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them; I despise none; and  
thought I might have leave to make choice  
of some for my speciall Attendants, who were  
best approved in my judgement, and most re-  
spectable

able to my affliction; but, I held it better to  
seem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers;  
than to be forced to seeme to comply with  
their petitions, so which the heart cannot  
consent, nor the tongue say Amen, without  
contradicting a mans own understanding, or  
belying his own soule.

In Devotions, I love neither profane bold-  
nesse, nor pious nonsense; but such an hum-  
ble and judicious gravity, as shewt the Speaker  
to be at once confederate of Gods Majo-  
sty, the Churches honour, and his own Vile-  
nesse; both knowing what things God allows  
him to aske, and in what manner it becomes a  
Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for  
himselfe, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayett,  
that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and  
passionately; as either wanting humility to  
God, or charity to men, or respect to the  
duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with su-  
bled and premeditated Sermons, so with such  
publique Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the  
Churches and every Christians daily & con-  
mon necessities; because I am by them better  
assured, what I may joyn my heart unto, than  
it can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency;  
which as I doe not wholly exclude from pub-  
lique occasions; so I allow it in just libe-  
rty in private and devout exercises.

where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, doe require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main and most necessary requisites both in constant, and occasionall, solitary, and sociall Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minds with as much Reason to prefer the service of my own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwayes educated and exercised; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted; And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or single out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men; who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-Prayer sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and condemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Vasoli*, than to that of *Vasobis Hypocritis*, by seeming to pray what I doe not approve.

It may be; I am esteemed by My Denyers  
sufficient

sufficient of my selfe to discharge My duty to GOD as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices Regall and Sacerdotall, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and united rights of primogeniture; Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Psalmes and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Soules to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and providence hath, for the most part alwayes distinguished the gifts and Offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches: I am sorry to finde my selfe reduced to the necessitie of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of Kingly Power and Sovereignty; would no lesse enforce me to live many Moneths without all  
Prayers

Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unless I become my own Chaplain.

As I love the Clergy, and protection of a Christian King; so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than by men, or other means; by how much they show from minds more enlightened, and affections less distracted, than those, which are encombred with secular affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptance attends those duties which are rightly performed as proper to, and within the limits of shepherding; to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men. And however, as to the Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soule is subdunt to Christ, and through his merits daily perfects itself and its services to GOD, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royall Priesthood; yet as to Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion and rebellion will as certainly follow every man's doing Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as a King.

I was alwayes bred to more modest and humble more opious Principles: the consciousness of my spiritual defects, makes me more private and desire those opious assistances, which holy, and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters

Myself may afford me especially in these  
 extremities, to which God hath been pleased  
 to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce Me;  
 that to leave them nothing more, but my life  
 to take from Me; and to leave nothing to  
 follow, which I thought might less provoke  
 their Jealousie and offence to deny me, than  
 that of having some means affected me for  
 my future comfort and support. For which end I  
 made choice of men, who  
 (that I know) faithful, for every way  
 eminent for their learning and piety, as well  
 than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any  
 exceptions to be made against them, but only  
 this, that they may seem too able and too  
 well affected toward me, and my service not  
 to be this is not the first service (as I count  
 the best) in which they have forced me to  
 serve my selfe; though I must confesse I be  
 with more griefe and impatience the more of  
 my Chaplains, than of any other my Servants;  
 had next (if not beyond in some things) to the  
 being sequestered from my selfe and children,  
 since from these indeed more of humane and  
 temporary affections, but from those more of  
 heavenly and eternall improvements, and be  
 I expected some more of service to be  
 I find my comfort is, that is the profoundest  
 neglected I want of ordinary assistance. For this  
 want to afford extraordinary supplies of his  
 gifts and Graces.

If his Spirit will teach me and help my infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation [as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Oratour or Instructor.

To Thee therefore, O My God, doe I direct my now Solitary Prayers; what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistance of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darknesse, and quicken my dulnesse.

O thou Sun of righteousness, thou sacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by instructing of me and interceding for me; In thee is all fulnesse; From thee all sufficiency; By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough; Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest; Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duell, when he had none to second him but thy selfe; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unity of Spirits, and with the bond of Peace.



O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wilderness, as a Sparrow on the housetop, and as a coal scattered from all those pious glowings and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruised reed, nor quenchest the smoking Flax, doe not despise the weaknesse of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soule in this uncomfortable lonenesse; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their barred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnesse incline thine eare to me; who art a God easie to be intreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not heare, nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward meanes which thou hast appointed in thy Church, but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone

breakest

breathest into humble hearts, and thy word will  
 O make me such, and thou wilt teach me, thou  
 wilt hear me; thou wilt help me: The drought  
 and contrite heart: I know thou wilt not despise  
 Thou, O Lord, shalt at once make me thy Temple,  
 thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar: bring  
 from an humble heart (O Lord) I daily offer up in  
 holy Meditations, fervent Prayers, and unfeigned  
 Tears, my Self to thee; who preparest me for thee;  
 dwellest in me; and acceptest of me.  
 Then, O Lord, wilt cause by secret supplica-  
 tions, and miraculous infusions; that the handfull of  
 meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little  
 oyl in the cruse fail the widow, during the time of  
 drought and dearth.

O look on my soule, which is a widow, is now  
 desolate and forsaken: Let not those saving truths  
 I have formerly learned, now faile my memory;  
 nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have  
 sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart. In this  
 famine of ordinary and wholesome food for the re-  
 freshing of my soule.

Which yet I had rather chuse than to feed from  
 those hands who mingle my breadd with ashes, and  
 my wine with gall, rather wormewing, then watch-  
 ing me; whose intents are prouder to bitter re-  
 proaches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth, how oft they  
 wrest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction, (which  
 are clear for their subjection, and my preservati-  
 on.) O let it not be to their dishonour.

Thou

Thou knowest how some wicked & unthankful  
 men have sought to defile the house of  
 thy Brethren; thy King, and thy God. O  
 Lord, whose mercy hath broken my bonds: nor shall  
 I cease to oppress my heart, in that I remember  
 against their wickedness, when thou shalt  
 remove the plume under their tongue, & from  
 the scales of their lips, & from the fire, & the  
 words of their mouth, ever deliver me. O Lord,  
 and all those loyal and religious hearts, who desire  
 to delight in the prosperity of my soul, & in  
 thy house, thy prayers shall be for me, & for  
 the solitude of thy Servant. O my King and my  
 God.

**Penitential Meditations and  
 Vows in the Kings solitude at  
 Holmby.**

Give ear to my words, O Lord, consider my  
 affliction, and hearken to the voice of my cry,  
 O my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray. As  
 I said in my heart, I am cast out of the sight of  
 thine eyes; nevertheless, thou hearest the voice of  
 my supplication, when I cry unto thee, and to thy  
 holy, O Lord, shouldst be extremely to mark  
 what is done averse, who can abide in it? But there  
 is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared:  
 therefore shall sinners be converted unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminencie of my place, adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my personall, and my peoples sinnes; which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glorie, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Prisoner to mine own Subjects. Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained My person, yet enlarge My heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come farre short of Davids piety; yet since I may equall Davids afflictions, give Mee also the comforts, and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins be an evidence to Me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and My Kingdomes have suffered seeme little unto thee, though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged: O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of olde, and thy loving kindnesse, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see thy goodnesse in the land of the living. Let

Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery tryall consume the drosse, which in peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet with-draw not thy grace ; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not yet to be turned away, let thy hand of justice must be stretched out still : Let it I beseech thee be against mee , and my Fathers house ; as for these sheep, what have they done ?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, & thy Churches enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceede the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of revenge, that I may not lose the reward, ~~but thou the glory of my~~ patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee ; so heare and accept this Vow which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and my Kingdomes ; In continuing the light of thy Gospel, and setting thy true Religion among us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, & Factions in State.

If

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessors.

If thou wilt turne the hearts of my people to themselves in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withstanding the fell of these Civill Wars.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of publique Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliament from the insolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of touching any thing against my Conscience: and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore mee to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soule praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to mee then my Crownes; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my people with justice, and my Kingdoms with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever as the rightfull succession, so the mercifull restoration of my Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with Peace, safety and honour, to my chiefest City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt againe put the Sword of Justice in to my hand to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, by my ve-  
 Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Love and re-  
 solution of Christian charity which I now make un-  
 bee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christs sake those that  
 have offended me in any kinde; so my hand shall  
 not be against any man in revenge what is past,  
 regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnatu-  
 ral divisions for thy sake O Lord, and for the love  
 of my Redeemer have I purposed this in my heart,  
 that I will use all meanes in the wayes of amnesty,  
 and indemnity; which may most fully remove all  
 rancour, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be towards me and mine as my  
 resolutions of Truth and Peace are towards my  
 people.

Heare my prayer O Lord, which goeth not out  
 of fained lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my  
 prayer, nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soule, commit thy way to the Lord, trust  
 in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what  
 can I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou, O Lord, hast given, and thou hast taken,  
 blessed be thy Name.

May my people and thy Church be happye,  
 not by me, yet without me.

Almighty God, who art the Father of the Fatherless,

Thou art

26. Upon

26. *Upon the Armys surprisall of the King at Holmeby, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.*

**W**Hat part God will have Me now to do or suffer in this new and strange scene of affaires, I am not much solicitous, since little practise will serve that man, who only seekes to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of me tels the World, that **KING** cannot be so low, but he is considerable, adding weight to that party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, seemes excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim downe such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; while the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seeke to catch for themselves.

So impossible it is for lines to bee drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much the



the farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of Babel should from disunion fall to confusion, is no wonder ; but for those that pretend to build Jerusalem, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill Omen, and sounds too like the fury of those Idols, whose intestine bitterneffe and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fall destruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison, not my captive condition, only with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the liberty of their King ; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in reason deny to mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous than the Presbyterian rigour, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, become the greatest Exacters of others submission to their novell injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without Consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents thinke themselves manumitted from their Rivals service ; in that they carry on a business of such consequence, as the assuming any Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission, but that of their owne will and

and power. Such as will thus adventure on  
this, must not be thought over-much  
thorough to carry on any design they have  
in mind on.

Their next motion, menaces & threats  
threw the Houses and the City; which  
was adding over again their former part  
of voluntary motions (never approved  
ed or repented) must now suffer for  
and see their former sinne in the place of  
present terrors and distractions.

No-man is so blind as not to see herein  
the hand of divine Justice; They that by  
first occasioned the raising of Armies,  
now be chastised by their own Army for  
Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one  
sin, but adde sin to sin, till the latter punish  
the former; such as were content to see me  
and many Members of both Houses driven  
away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are  
now forced to flee to an Army, or defend  
themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of  
mens justice? The Members of both Houses  
who at first withdrew (as my selfe was forced  
to doe) from the rudenesse of the Tumults,  
were counted Deferters, and ousted of their  
places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the be-  
nefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the

only

only Parliament men : now the Flyers from, and forsakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them ; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Army : such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of Tumultuary Insolencies, & Betrayers of the Freedom and Honour of Parliament.

Thus is power above all Rule, Order, and Law ; while men looke more to present Advantages than their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice ; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies ; when as before they were counted as Friends, and necessary Assistance.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes ( as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in Germany ) them that thought to have escaped, & fortified themselves most invincibly against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pitty ; for, I always wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry

to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthy such great and considerable Bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities, as to despair of their Loyalty to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them, upon whom I look as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of My prayers and teares, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty: satall blindnesse frequently attending and punishing wilfulnesse, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrowes, who would not timely repent of their sins: nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will finde that brethren in iniquity are not farre from becoming insolent Enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gaine a fair period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of fancy, then in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publique consistency; whither I pray God to bring all sides.

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Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the known Laws, then to the various wils of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of it self, and ends in a refractory sullenness: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent stroaks.

For the Army (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding pay and indemnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publique peace that they should be satisfied, as far as is just; no man being more prone to consider them then My Selfe: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintaine My Selfe, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion, as much as any men.

*But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Vnity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those whom thy Justice hath divided.*

*Deliver Mee from the strivings of My People, and make Me to see how much they need My pray-*

ers and pittie, who agreed to fight against Me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another, to the continuance of My Kingdomes distractions.

Discover to all sides the wayes of peace from which they have swerved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and true observation of the Laws.

Make Me willing to goe whither thou wilt lead Me by thy providence; and be thou ever with Me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds varied and changes.

Make Me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity which thou alone canst give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory, and the publique peace, lest their calamities come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them that they cannot want Enemies who abound in sinne; nor shall they be long undisciplined and un-destroyed, who with an high hand persisting to fight against Thee, and the cleere convictions of their owne Consciences, fight more against them-

themselves, when ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me; yet let not My fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered [chiefely at first, by them] as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in My dying extremities to pray to Thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The teares they have denyed Me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves; who, the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their children, whom the fraud and faction of some, nor the malice of all, have excited to crucifie mee.

But thou, O Lord, canst and wilt (as thou hast my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect mee by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercie, then of mans Cruelty, or thy owne Justice.





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27. *To the Prince of WALES.*

ON, If these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my Conscience, and my most impartiall thoughts touching the chiefe passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in my late troubles come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so farre usefull to you, as to state your judgement aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious is the best use can be made; and they may also give you some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kinde of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long restraint, when I finde my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of my selfe, and usefull to you; That neither You nor any other may hereafter measure My Cause by the Successe, nor my Judgement of things by my Misfortunes, which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon You, and some others, whom I have cause most to love as well as my Self, and of whose unmerited sufferings, I have a greater sense than of mine Own.

But this advantage of wisdom You have above most Princes, that You have begun, and now spent some yeares of discretion, in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees set in winter) then in the warmth, and serenity of times, or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty, which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour, or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the publique good, for which Princes should alwayes remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom, the other softned by the unpareld prosperity of *Solomons* Court, and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in summer; whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good then great, I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put

put you into that exercise of his Graces, and Gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the well-fare of those, over whom God shall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign disposer of the Kingdomes of the world; who pulleth downe one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignty you can attain to, is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit, may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glory, in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civill Power, with Justice and Honour to the publique peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soule at last.

To which Center of true happinesse, God, I trust, hath and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath [I hope] drawn me nearer to himselfe. You have already tasted of that Cup whereof I

have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; well grounded and settled in your Religion: The best profession of which, I have ever esteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custome or tradition, which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have otherwise expressed & often offered, though in vaine. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for your souls then your Kingdoms peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devill of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights; when some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Pietie pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that, unlesse in this point You be well settled,

settled, you shal never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretensions of reforming matters of Religion, for that seems even to worst men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, beside the Novetie which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward on an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous, hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severitie of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well settled: your partiall adhering, as head, to any one side gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth you in others, who think themselves, and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you: Take such a course as may either with calmness and charitie quite remove the seeming differences and offences, by impartiality, or so order affaires in point of power, that you shall not need to feare or flatter any faction, for if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect  
lesse

less of loyalty, justice, or humanity, then from those who engage into religious Rebellion: Their interest is alwayes made Gods, under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may heare from them *Jacob's* voyce, but you shall seele they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed less considerable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeares; so compliant they were to publique order; nor indeed was their Party great, either in Church, or State, as to mens judgments: But as soon as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected part, which cause inflamations) so did all, at first who affected any novelties adhere to that side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious servants to Presbytery their great Master: till time and military success discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniforme Religion, pretended each to drive for their party, the trade of profits or preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it selfe, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let

Let nothing seeme little or despicable to you, in matters which concern Religion, and the Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectuall suppressing Errors, and Schisms, which seem at first but as a hand-bredth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unitie in Religion. The next main hinge on which your prosperitie will depend, and move, is, That of civill Justice, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which you are rightly heir, are the most excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, & happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty & Prerogative of any King, who owes his people as Subjects, not as slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their prosperity, peace, and safetie; so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heaviness oppress the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety,

safety, to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed, and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws, there being nothing worse, than legall tyrannie.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kinde of Martyrdom, as to the testimony of my own Conscience. The troubles of my Kingdomes having nothing else to object against me but this, That I prefer Religion, and Lawes established, before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publique Interest, and the good of the communitie.

How God will deal with me, as to the removal of these pressuress, and indignities, which his Justice by the very unjust hands of some of my Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain



in my soul, what I beleewe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour and Conscience, I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to my own soul, the Church, and my people, and to you also; as the next and undoubted Heir of my Kingdoms.

To which, if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after my decease bring you, as I hope he will: My Counsell and Charge to you, is, That you seriously consider the former reall or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoyd them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsell, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, ( that is, matters of Religion and Justice ) as to create in your self, or others, a diffidence of your own judgement, which is likely to be alwayes more constant and impartiall to the interest of your Crown and Kingdom than any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crossnesse, and asperity of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by you, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion,

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian

stian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies: and puts the despised and oppressed party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them, to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwayes keep up solid piety, and those fundamentall Truths ( which mend both hearts and lives of men ) with impartiall favour and Justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best incouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye and impartiall hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you finde them for their reall goodnesse both in abilities and fidelities worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine you the hearts of the best, and the most too: who though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severall waies of vertue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have,

I have, You see, conflicted with different and opposite factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Laws established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, & to Me) and are secured from that feare, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the rough horns of private mens coverous and ambitious designs, shall discover themselves, which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolfe is not lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appeare no better than a Wolfe under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar; who in their simplicity follow those disguises, My charge and counsell to you, is, That as you need no palliations for any designs, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed [ in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse, piety, and vertue, towards the people ] even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion; so you shall neither feare any detection, (as they doe, who have but the face and mask of good;

goodnesse) nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of your people ; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous constancy of their King.

When these mountaines of congealed factions shall by the Sanshine of Gods mercy, and the splendor of your vertues be thawed and dissipated ; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, that none are greater Oppressours of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences, than those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrons and vindicators of them, onely to usurp power over them : Let then no passion betray you, to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sinne and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soone as the forked arrow of factions emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts, and clemency to heale the wounds ; that the smart of the cure may not equall the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnity, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you alwayes propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted,

accepted, let it be granted, not only as an act of State policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choise.

It is all I have now left Mee, a power to forgive those that have deprived Mee of all; and I thank God I have a heart to doe it, and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, then any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or misapprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithful to me and you, than those Subjects, who sensible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feele in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance, and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As your quality sets you beyond any Duell with any Subject, so the Noblenesse of your minde must raise you above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conscious you shall be to your owne merits, upon your people, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyalty from them, and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning  
one,

one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of Gods mercy & My Subjects affections towards you, both which I hope you will study to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments which the Laws have assigned to Us, and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can deest Us of, then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see you in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, your own honour, & the Kingdoms peace.

But if you never see My face again, & God will have Mee buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscurity, [ which the perfecting some mens designs require ] wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with Me, I doe require and entreat you as your Father, and your KING, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or dis-affection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell you I have tryed it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world, not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the speciall notion, as Reformed, keeping the middle

dle way betweene the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meaneſſe of fantaſtick Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine & government in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily neede ſome ſweetening or poliſhing, which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe & gentle hand: if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles; which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily answered to them, or your owne thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath been a beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late Warre againſt the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rule, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution; but let not counterſeit and diſorderly Zeale abate your value and eſteeme  
of

of true piety, both of them are to be known by their fruits, the sweetnesse of the Wine and Figtree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to beare Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any averſation or diſlike of Parliaments, which in their right conſtitution with freedom and honour, will never injure or diminifh your greatneſs, but wil rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence betweene a Prince and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have beene other than ſuch [ however much byaſſed by Factions in the Elections ] if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedome, and Honour, w<sup>ch</sup> belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies ( when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment ) ſince the publique intereſt conſiſts in the mutuall and common good of both Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute their Counſels in Common, enacting all things by publique conſent; without tyranny or Tumults. Wee muſt not ſtarve our ſelves,  
becau<sup>ſe</sup>



because some men have surfeited of wholesome food.

And if neither I nor you, be ever restored to our Rights, but God in his severest justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickedness ; I hope God will give Me and You that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want , as well as to wear a Crown , which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid , dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue, & honour, You shall never want a Kingdom.

A principall point of your honour will consist in your deferring all respect, love, & protection to your Mother, My Wife ; who hath many wayes deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this , that [ having been a means to bless Me with so many hopefull Children ; ( all which, with their Mother , I recommend to your love and care ) Shee hath beene content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, ( what ever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own innocency , and his Grace ) that he would be pleased to make you an Anchor, or Harbor rather , to these tossed

tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms ; a Repairer by your wisdom, justice, piety, and valour , of what the folly and wickednesse of some men have so far ruined , as to leave nothing intire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons ; either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience or lives.

When they have destroyed Me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Mee ) as I doubt not but My bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven: so I beseech God not to powr out his wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deserted Me , or engaged against Mee , through the artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders , whose inward horror will be their first Tormenter , nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no misse of Me when I am gone ; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty towards Mee , as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian KING ; so I believe you will finde them truly zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to you which was due to Me.

In

In summe, what good I intended, doe you performe, when God shall give you power : much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soone vanish, and the vizards will fall off apace, This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion ( for so it now plainly appears, since My restraint and cruell usage, that they sought not for Mee, as was pretended ) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times I hope attend you, wherein your Subjects [ by their miseries ] will have learned, that Religion to their God, & Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God blesse you, and establish your Kingdomes in righteousness, your Soule in true Religion, and your honour in the love of God and your People.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction, let My memory ever, with My name, live in you; as of your Father, that loves you, and once a King of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the Scepter and government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the ho-

nour of my Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the Liberties of my People, and My own Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thousand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore Me to My Rights. I cannot despair either of his mercy; or of My Peoples love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but goe before you to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewel, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

*Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-addresses, and His Majesties closer Imprisonment in Carisbrooke-Castle.*

**A**S I have leisure enough, so I have cause more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my Death; for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence which gives Mee the space, but mans cruelty that gives Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear

bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruell passions, whose envy or enmity against Me; makes their owne lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God My prosperity made Mee not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwayes uncertain : Death being an eclipse, which oft hapneth as well in cleare as cloudy dayes.

But My now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in Me those natural Antipathies between life and death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the speciall horror of it, as to my particular much allayed: for, although my death at present may justly be represented to Mee with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can looke upon all those stings, as unpoysinous, though sharp; since my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of Death against them; which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty, of it exceeded, what ever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much, the life

of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to dye, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make me sometime even desire to dye; if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christians life to *dye daily*, in conquering by a lively faith and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall & quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meales, and make us over-live our owne fates; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a King, I think My selfe to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love and good will of my People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity, and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and loyalty which is in my Subjects, and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left me but little of life, and only the husk & shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from

from Mee; having bereaved Mee of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O my Soule ! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to dye out of wearinesse of life, and a want of that heroicke greatness of Spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose totall absence is best recompensed with the dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lyon, but they yeeld much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to over-live the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishnesse, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must dye as a man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, sodain, & barbarous death; in

the strength of my yeares, in the midst of my Kingdoms ; my Friends and loving Subjects being helplesse Spectators ; my Enemies insolent Revilers & Triumphers over Me, living, dying ; and dead , is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught me not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my life is the Object of the Devils, and wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods sole custody & disposall: whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die ; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death , in what order soever hee is pleased to lay them out to Me. I confesse it is not easie for Me to contend with those many horrors of death , wherewith GOD suffers Me to be tempted ; which are equally horrid either in the suddenesse of a barbarous Assassination ; or in those greater formalities , whereby My Enemies [ being more solemnly cruel ] will, it may be , seeke to adde [ as those did who crucified Christ ] the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make my death appeare as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereign, who know that no law of God or man invests them with any power of Judicature without Mee,

much



much lesse against me : and who, being sworn, and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour my preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges ; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Sovereigne ; wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, must by shedding my blood seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and Man ; and I beleieve in their own Consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable Demands ; First by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes meane spirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours than this, the *Guilt of their unjust usurpation* : notwithstanding those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents applyed onely to disguise at first the monstrosnesse of their designs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the heire, whose right it is, be cast out and slaine.

With them my greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy My selfe with the Church and State by my Word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword ; whose

covetous ambitions no Concessions of Mine could ever yet either satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdome of brambles which some men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharpe, and fruitlesse, either to God or Man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall blood of those, whose right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my Innocency will finde him both my Protector, and my Advocate, who is my onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and Majesty above them; but also for that singular care & protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devills; which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of my death amongst themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing Me.

Their impatience to heare the loud cry of my blood, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after mine. The

The sad confusions following my destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to me by those I have lived to see since my troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded my cause; not suffering them to goe unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their onely security; who have cause to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up Death in the Victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not onely the honour to imitate his example in suffering for righteousness sake [ though obscur'd by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice ) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory over my Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my blood to them, further then to convince them, what need they have of Christs blood to wash their soules from the guilt of shedding mine.

At present, the will of my Enemies seemes to be their onely rule, their power the measure, and their Successe the Exactor, of what they please to call Justice, while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own safety

by my danger, and the security of their lives designs by my death : forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sinne are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from Me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands by deserting me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to my death, are embred with my blood.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded mine ; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me ; whose mercy I believe, will more than infinitely recompence what ever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will far surpass all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully Crowned and Consummated his graces with Glory, and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for

for the substance of that Heavenly Kingdome with himsele.

For the censures of the world ; I know the sharpe and necessary tyranny of my Destroyers will sufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny against me ; I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of my Subjects, who do not only pity and pray for me, but would be content even to dy with me, or for me.

These know how to excuse my failings ; as a man, and yet to retaine and pay their duty to me as their King ; there being no religious necessity binding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errors of their Princes ; especially there, where more than sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick ; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I beleeeve, of softer tempers, and lesse advantaged by my ruine, doe already feel sharpe convictions, and some remorse in their Consciences : where they cannot but see the proportions of their evill dealings against me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been so cruell as to cut off their chiefeest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his com-

complices, (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice; as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest & meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their forgotten and worse used Authority: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against me, the Church & State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace, which I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not feare to appeare, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between me and my causlesse Enemies, where I doubt not but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy, who from worldly successe (rather like Sophisters, than sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events which his revealed word [the onely cleare, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences] in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of my Cause, and cleareness of my Conscience before God and toward my people will carry me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes, have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion, who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven

in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousness and oppression of the designe. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sayles of Pyrats, doth not justifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content & quiet of Soule, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments; the rights of my Country, the just liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion, in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborn them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designes they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can give it me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies than my Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life where-with these desire, I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquerour through Christ enabling me: for whom I have hither-

to suffered: as he is the Author of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend against Errour, Faction, and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death with my Saviour; it is but mortality crowned with martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I owe for sinne to nature, shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although Death be the wages of my own sinne, as from God, and the effect of other finnes, as men, both against God and me; yet as I hope my own finnes are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to inhabiter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which, I pray God they may obtaine: that my temporall Death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, than the safe bringing  
of



of the ship to shore, when they have cast me over-board ; though it be very strange, that Marriners can find no other means to appease the storme, themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation ; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soule with my Body ; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despaire, they have onely discover'd this, that they doe not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, than any way obstructed my access to the Throne of Heaven.

*Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings ; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.*

*Thou, O God, art both the just Inflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.*

*Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee ; than by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.*

*O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in My Soule, as a Christian,*

If thou Lord wilt be with Me, I shall neither feare nor feel any euill, though I walke through the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man ; to overcome it is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O My Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with Me, as a Man ; make Me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer livest for ever : though thou slayest Me, yet thou hast incouraged Me to trust in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not the fauour from me, which is better than life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designses of those who haue, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou givest me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may passe from me ; but thou hast taught Me as a Christian by the example of Christ to adde, not my will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine : let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death. As

As I beleeeve thou hast forgiven all the errors of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gaine; and in death, advantage.

Though my destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet doe not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they lose their owne Soules?

Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but wholly usurped, and turned it against my selfe, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voyce of his bloud be heard for My Murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sinne, and let them not at once deceive and damne their own Soules by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying Me, while the Conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord,

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruell, who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deale not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men, but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion, and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for My bloud, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Soules, with the bloud of thy Sonne, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too little to entertaine at once both them and mee, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the same Redeemer, wee shall live farre above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heavieſt, and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the armes of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment : may be repayed in thy ever blessed eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy Salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.

Munday,



Munday, 29. *January*, 1648.

*A true relation of the KING S Speech  
to the Lady Elizabeth, and the Duke  
of Gloucester, the day before His  
Death.*



His Children being come to meet Him, Hee first gave His blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bade her remember to tell her Brother *James* when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charles* as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the *King* to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: And powring forth aboundance of Teares, promised him to write downe the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Gloucester* upon his knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (Upon which

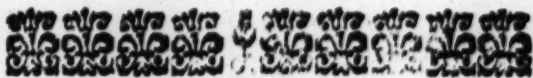
which words the Child looked very stedfastly on him.) Mark Child what I say, they will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as your Brother *Charles* and *James* doe live; For they will cut of your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at the last: and therefore I charge you doe not be made a King by them. At which the Child sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.



*Another*

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*Another Relation from the Lady  
Elizabeths owne hand.*

**W**HAT the King said to Me the  
29. of January, 1648. being  
the last time I had the happi-  
nesse to see Him; He told Me,  
He was glad I was come, and  
although Hee had not time to say much, yet  
somewhat He had to say to me, which he had  
not to another, or leave in writing. Because  
he feared their Cruelty was such, as that  
they would not have permitted him to write  
to me. He wished me not to grieve and tor-  
ment My selfe for Him; for that would be a  
glorious death that he should dye; it being  
for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and  
for maintaining the true Protestant Religion.

He bid me read Bishop *Andrewes* Sermons,  
*Hookers Ecclesiasticall Policy*, and Bishop  
*Laud's* Eooke against *Fisher*; which would  
ground me against Popery.

He told me he had forgiven all his Ene-  
mies, and hoped God would forgive them  
also; and commanded Us, and all the rest of  
my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them: He  
bid

bid me tell my Mother , That his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love should be the same to the last.

Withall he commanded mee and my Brother to be obedient to her. And bid me send his Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters , with Commendations to all his Friends : So after he had given me his Blessing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded Us all to forgive those people , but never to trust them ; For they had beene most false to him , and to those that gave them power , and he feared also to their owne soules ; And desired mee not to grieve for him , for hee should dye a Martyr , And that hee doubted not but the Lord would settle his Throne upon his Son, and that We should be all happier, then We could have expected to have been , if he had lived : With many other things , which at present I cannot remember.

## ELIZABETH.

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**T**He K I N G said to the Duke of Gloucester , that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his soule : He told him ; that He heard the Army intended to make him King ; but it was a thing not for

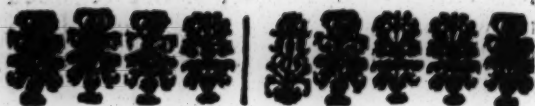
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for him to take upon him, if hee regarded  
the welfare of his Soule ; for hee had two  
Brothers before him : and therefore com-  
manded him upon his blessing, never to ac-  
cept of it, unlesse it redounded lawfully  
upon him : And commanded him to feare  
the LORD, and Hee would provide for  
him.

*Copia Vera.*

At



# An Epitaph upon King CHARLES.

**S**O falls that stately Cedar ; while it stood  
 That was the onely glory of the Wood ;  
 Great Charles, thou earthly God, Celestiall Man,  
 Whose life like others, though it were a span :  
 Yet in that span, was comprehended more  
 Then earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore ;  
 Thy heavenly vertues, Angels should rehearse,  
 It is a theame too high for humane Verse :  
 He that would know thee right, then let him looke  
 Vpon thy rare incomparable Booke,  
 And read it o're ; which if he doe,  
 He'll find thee King, and Priest, and Prophet too,  
 And sadly see our losse, and though in vaine,  
 With fruitlesse wishes call thee backe again.  
 Ner shall oblivion sit upon thy Herse,  
 Though there were neither Monument nor Verse.  
 Thy sufferings and thy death let no man name ;  
 It was thy glory, but the Kingdomes shame.

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# An EPITAPHE on the KING,

Who was beheaded at *White-  
Hall*, on Tuesday *January 30.*  
and was buried at *Windsor* on  
Saturday, February 17.

(*nurst,*  
Whom *Scotlands* ayre brought forth, & *Englands*  
Interr'd at *Windsor*, Here lyes *Charles* the first;  
The *Starre*, the *Garter*, and what *Kings* did weare  
Or give of Honour must lye buried here;  
The *George* of *England*, And the *Knights* bright  
Must lodge for ever by this Sepulchre, (*Spurre,*  
Unlesse some *Phenix* springing from his Dust  
From night shall raise them, & wipe off their Rust.  
What's left by Death unconquerd, we may look,  
And learn to practise from this Royall Book,  
For never Axe as yet was so unkinde  
To claime that sharpnesse as to touch the Mind;  
Here he breaths holy fires, and free from fears  
Forgives our Rudenesse, and forbids our Teares,  
Tears court but Graves, which if to Earth we pay  
For *Charles* in Heaven, our tears mistake their way,  
The Tomb needs speak his praise, An Angels wing  
Lends the best help to Epitaphe the King,  
Which whiles the scornfull do demand what 'tis;  
The Region answers, and saies sure 'tis this.  
This Land lend not a more contrite groane,  
For it is Marble though Himselfe hath none.

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